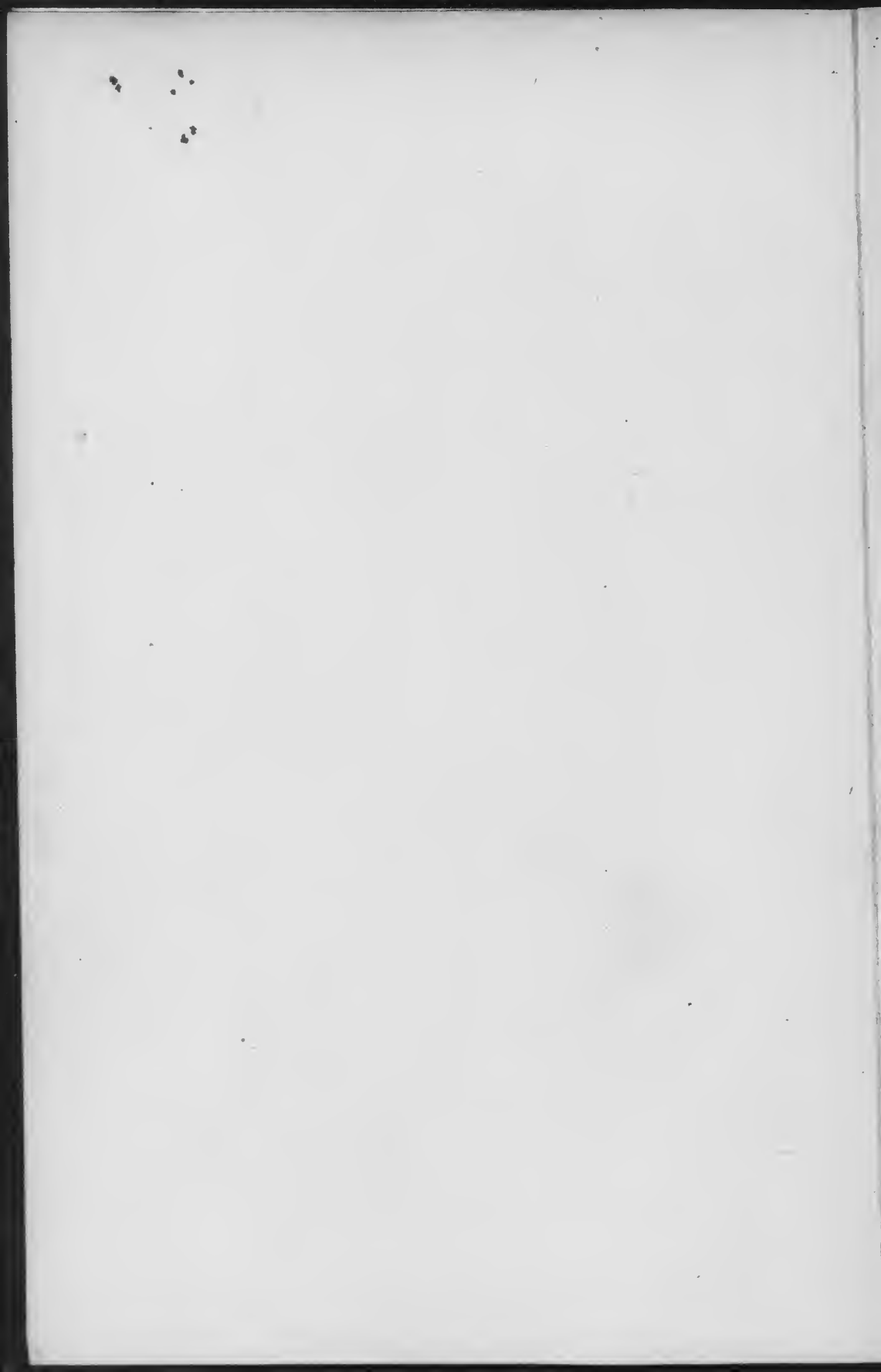


THE
FATHERS
OF THE
WESLEY FAMILY



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THE FATHERS
OF
THE WESLEY FAMILY,

CLERGYMEN IN DORSETSHIRE, 1650—1662;

(THE PRESENT, THE BI-CENTENARY OF THEIR EJECTION.)

AND

REFERENCES TO EVENTS AND CHANGES
OF THEIR TIMES.

BY WILLIAM BEAL.

“OUT of old fields, as man saithe,
Cometh all this new corn fro yere to yere;
And out of old bokes, in goode faithe,
Cometh all this new science that men lere.”

“It is with other feelings than those of poor peddling dilettantism, other aims than the writing of successful or unsuccessful publications, that the earnest man occupies himself in the dreary provinces of the dead and buried.”—CARLYLE.

SECOND EDITION, WITH MANY ADDITIONS.

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INTRODUCTION.

A VERY sincere desire and purpose to serve the late greatly esteemed Dr. Adam Clarke, led the writer, who, some thirty years since resided for a short period in Dorset, and by favour had access to long-concealed records, to attempt to glean from them whatever suitable information he could find for the use of the venerated Doctor, should he publish a new edition of the "Wesley Family."

This intention, and some facts sent, were very kindly acknowledged. Yet, before they could be employed, Dr. Clarke, in August, 1832, was numbered with the dead. To preserve the little which had been culled, it was next thought the pages of some magazine might be a proper place; but in August, 1833, these gleanings were published in a little book, entitled "The Fathers of the Wesley Family."

In 1839, an abridged form, as "Biographical Notices of the late Rev. Bartholomew Westley, and John Westley, his son," was printed. In the preparation of this, the connection of the Westleys with the county of Dorsetshire, and the town of Dorchester, was remembered; and led (page 30,) to an appeal in words like the following:—"Who will arise and seasonably befriend a few persons in Dorchester, formerly the home of John White, one of the Assessors in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and the great-grandfather of the late Rev. John Wesley—the birth-place of Miss White, grandmother of the

late Wesleys, the niece of Dr. Fuller, and wife of John Westley, of Whitchurch. The latter was probably educated at the grammar school in this borough, as his son, Samuel, of Epworth, was certainly. Who will so befriend the needy that a chapel may be erected in this town, which, next to other and greater purposes, may preserve the memory of men once highly respected in Dorchester, and the neighbourhood?" By some means the pamphlet reached the hands of the late Mrs. Brackenbury, who, in a letter to the writer, said, "I will." To set the preparations agoing, one half of the edition of the "Notices" was at once given to the minister chiefly interested in the town; but in great part, the Wesleyan chapel in Dorchester is indebted for its existence to the benevolence of the unostentatious, retiring, and truly Christian lady just named; to whom also, and to the kindness of her late deeply pious husband, Robert C. Brackenbury, Esq., Portland, and some places in its neighbourhood, were, and are, under unspeakable obligations.

Biographers of the Wesleys, selected and non-selected, have mentioned "ancestors" of the family, and given some statements found in the "Nonconformists' Memorial," concerning them. Since the death of those writers, Dorset and other history—timely permission to examine Borough Records, which have since been scattered—kind communications from respected persons, with copies of official documents never seen in print, but long in the dark—have disclosed other facts in intimate relation with either the doings, or the sufferings of the elder Westleys. The supposition that by those who seek truth in history, whatever little can make this more fully the mirror of truth, will not be without its value; and intended profitable occupation of time—quickly running out—led to the renewal of a desire, once and again felt, to rewrite and republish another edition (with additions) of a book which has been frequently sought in vain.

Though neither conscious rashness, nor a purpose to pander to mere one-sidedness may be cherished, yet on events to which these pages refer, few are the favoured persons who can so notice them as to please all readers to their edification. Possibly, if here or there noticed at all, some will look coldly on this unpretending and unadorned little work. Be this as it may, the willing labour to bring important historic facts more fully together, and by this means to preserve what has been obtained, will ever be its own reward. In the opinion of Dr. Whitehead, the elder Westleys "appear to have been respectable for learning, conspicuous for piety, and firmly attached to those views of Christianity which they had formed from the Sacred Scriptures." At length, their life became greatly chequered, mingled with oppression and distress, and through which they have left us an example of prudence, moderation, patience, and piety. Once, as their connection with the leading clergymen of Dorset declares, they were in high esteem ; but, with the change of times, brought low, in sorrow to the grave, and their memory almost forgotten and perished. Should any think they had better have been left in the shade, without present notice, to them this will be an unwelcome publication.

As the last summer began to hasten to a close, the wish again returned, and with new power, to arrange what are now the contents of these pages, and for which the writer only is responsible. Though opportunely purposed, yet, as far as recollection can be trusted, it never once occurred to his mind that he was reviewing, as he could, the life of devoted men, on the eve of the two hundredth year since the Westleys and their noble-minded brethren, the Nonconforming ministers, were ejected and driven from their churches and people. Nor had he in any way heard that good men were in council on plans, by which they hope to make the dark days of 1662 to become contributory to the religious advantages of the more highly-favoured people of 1862.

A former edition of these Westley "Notices" became helpful to the erection of a chapel at Dorchester. Can this, in the same way, be of any service to Weymouth, the clean and beautiful town, especially for sea-bathing; and at a short distance from its Noadh, or Nothe, Portland and the noble break-water bluffly arise in front? At Melcombe or Weymouth, John Westley was called to the Christian Ministry—at sea, on the shores around, up to Radipole, he usefully employed the morning of his public life. When chosen by the parishioners, appointed by trustees, examined and approved by the ecclesiastical authorities of the day, by or in the Church of Melcombe, John Westley was ordained, or commended to the people of Whitchurch as their vicar. When ejected from Whitchurch, at Weymouth he sought refuge; but at Preston, the immediately adjoining parish, found a home and a grave.

A *Westley Chapel*, in a desirable position, and without debt, would in some hearts lead to devout and grateful emotions; as a place of *worship*, to the HONOUR AND GLORY OF ONE HOLY NAME ALONE; and next, to the memory of a devoted and persecuted minister, who, almost within sight of the town, has long lain low without the humblest notice; but a Wesleyan Chapel would be an *honourable memorial* to him who began his promising, but soon shaded, career in Weymouth; and on which might be read, "He being dead, yet speaketh."

Liskeard, March, 1862.

THE FATHERS

OF

THE WESLEY FAMILY.

THE love of liberty and of individuality led the Saxons to be attached to the wide range of an open country, with which they could connect suitable home retreats and rural pursuits. When, by war and conquest, these Scythian invaders were enabled to seize the land of a divided and weak people, the old Roman-Briton towns, or whatever remained of them, were not so largely the selected homes of the intruders, as places of desire in the distance. The enclosures and ancient *Maen-ars* of the old men, bounded by rude or raised stones, passed to the possession of new lords, who gave to their hides of arable land and the adjoining pastures, the name of *Mearcs*, which, as localities would allow, were limited and defined by either rivers, marshes, woods, hills, or commons; and unploughed lands, on which the cattle fed, were known as the *leigh*, *ley*, or *lea*. In several counties, where

The lowing herds wind slowly o'er the lea,

this word, or name, yet abides.

To many of these leas or pastures, trees, hills, wells, streams, or position, gave their distinct and characteristic names. Some, on which *Fearn*, *Alder* trees, or Fern plants grew, were known as Fern, *Fearn*, or *Alder-ley*. *On*, or *Ash*-trees, led to *Ash-ley*. *Birch* or *Berk*, to *Berke-ley*. *Broom* to *Brom-ley*. *Coll* or *Hazel*, to *Nut-ley*. *Dair*, *Dar*, or *Oak*, to *Dar*, or *Oak-ley*. *Thorn* and *Haws*, to *Thorn-ley* and *Haw-ley*. Where *stones* were many, to *Stan-ley*. The *sea* or a *lake* near such lands, to *Mor-ley*.

A *spring* or a *stream* of water, to *En*, or *Durs-ley*. *Woods*, to *Wood-leys*. *Welles* (the old plural form) to *Welles-leigh*. Places in a *western* direction from some others, were either *West-leighs*, *West-leas*, or *West-leys* of olden times, and gave their names to the founders of the Ashley, Berkeley, Westley families, &c.

Soon after the Norman Conquest, it became known that Welles-leigh, a manor near Wells, in Somersetshire, had given its name to an old family, supposedly of Saxon origin; and William Philip and Walrond de Wellesley are mentioned by Collinson, in his History of that county. As early as A.D. 1172, Wellesleighs, from either Sussex or Somerset, were found in Ireland, one of whom as standard-bearer to Henry the Second; and old records of that country, of 1239, refer to Michael de Wellesleigh. About 1303, William de Wellesley fell while in battle with the Irish. By Richard the Second, another William de Wellesley was appointed governor of the castle and lands of Carbury, or Ark-hill. And about 1539, Walter de Wellesley, Bishop of Kildare, died.

In or near the days of Henry the Eighth, the Colleys, or Cowleys, of Ireland, were noticed in history. A daughter of one of this family married Wesley, of Dungan Castle, whose kinsman obtained the possessions of his relative, and took his name, when Charles, the son of Samuel Wesley, of Epworth, refused to go to Ireland, to become the adopted heir of Garret Wesley. From the Colleys, as Wesleys, the Earl of Mornington, the Marquis Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, and others, derived their birth; and in 1797, the Marquis Wesley became Wellesley. (a)

In Ireland, and the south-west of England, Wellesleigh and Westleigh, as family names, appear to have passed to Wellesley, Westeley, Westley, Wesley, and Wesly. In days when England was distinguished by abbeys, Isabel Westleigh was found among the recluses at Shaftesbury. In 1435, John Westeley, a prebendary, was vicar of Sturminster-Newton. Near the conclusion of the same century, John Westley was rector of Langton-Matravers. In the "History of Dorset," by Hutchins, the Borough Records of Weymouth, the *Gentle-*

(a) Collinson's History of Somersetshire, vol. iii., p. 405; Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, vol. ii., pp. 159, 750; Wright's Life of the Duke of Wellington.

man's, and other magazines, several persons of this name are mentioned, who were of Dorset, or the adjoining counties. In the Journal of the House of Commons, May 12th, 1642, may be found the Speaker's permission for Mr. Harpham Weslye to visit France. Bartholomew Westley was rector of Charmouth, 1650-1660; and John, his son, was vicar of Winterbourn-Whitchurch, 1658-1662; parishes in Dorset. The former was the great-grandfather, and the latter, the grandfather, of the late Revs. John and Charles Wesley. (*b*)

Of the rector of Charmouth very little is known; but on many accounts that little may be preserved from oblivion. To those who take interest in the eventful and chequered life of the good clergymen of the seventeenth century, it is matter of sincere regret that, so far as is known, no family record was left to tell us where Bartholomew Westley was born—the peculiarities, if any, of his early days—the changing scenes of his declining years—his home, if he really had any, after the death of his son at Preston—nor when, nor where, the grave hid him from the violence of intolerant men. Mrs. John Westley, the daughter-in-law of Bartholomew, and widow of John, of Whitchurch, was visited by her grandson, Samuel Wesley, afterwards of Tiverton, in 1720; and can it be supposed that a young man, twenty years of age, and other grandchildren nearly as old, would have taken no interest in, nor made inquiries on, the leading facts and sufferings in the life of their ancestor; or that this desolate widow, who had lived in days of violence, would never have told these young ones how, and when, and where, a husband and a father had, as an outcast, “wandered about,” sorrowed, and died?

That by unfriendly and interested writers, who have blended facts and fiction, highly adorned, together, it is certainly true the name of the rector of Charmouth has not been allowed to perish. After the Restoration, several writers published the singular and romantic adventures of the second Charles, in his flight after the Battle of Worcester, September 3rd, 1651; and in several of these tracts Mr. Westley is noticed in connection with Charmouth, and the passing of the King through that village. On some account, the “Boscobel Tracts” were re-pub-

(*b*) Dr. Adam Clarke's Wesley Family; Kemble's Saxons; Hutchins' History of Dorset, 2nd ed., vol. i., pp. 340, 393, 495; vol. iii., p. 36; vol. iv., p. 185.

lished about thirty years since, and lately another edition has been given to the world. In an onward page they may be noticed.

For truthful, honourable notices and memorials of the elder Westleys, the men of this age are indebted to the care of Mr. Baxter, and more largely to the kindness of Dr. Calamy, in his "Continuation" appended to Mr. Baxter's "History of his Life and Times." From this valued work we learn that Bartholomew Westley, afterwards of Catherston and Charmouth, was sent in early life to one of the Universities; that he was a diligent young man, and applied himself to the study of physic as well as divinity. As a clergyman, he was distinguished for plainness of speech; and to those who looked for garnished words more than important truth, he was not among popular preachers. That when ejected from his livings, and cast on the world, the good providence of God enabled him to support himself and his family by the practice of physic; and in this way he reaped the fruits of early diligence and well-employed time. (c)

May not this outline be supposed to furnish some evidence of the probable position of Mr. Westley's parents or friends—that their circumstances allowed them to prepare this young man for, and then to send him to, the University;—and so valued Christian education, and the advantages of a well-furnished mind, as to give their son the best opportunity to acquire this inestimable treasure? Those purposes and efforts were not made in vain. The object of their solicitude and affection became a diligent student, who spent not his college days in idleness and vice, but in well-directed employment of time; and, as above noticed, in age he obtained the reward of early industry.

The days in which Bartholomew Westley lived were evil by strifes, bitter contentions, and desolating war; and though the direct object of these pages is not the political history of those times, yet we may attempt to pass to them, through notices of some facts which, as causes, brought the dark days of calamity on Britain in the seventeenth century. D'Israeli the elder, in his notice of this period, speaks of it as unparalleled in the annals of men. For the English nation, it was the great result of all former attempts to ascertain and to secure

(c) Baxter's Life and Times, by E. Calamy, D.D., 2nd ed., vol. ii., p. 280; Dr. Calamy's Continuation, vol. i., p. 429.

the just freedom of the subject; and, in times of unsettled opinions and of disputed principles, the parties in conflict were at length taught, through the weakness of their passions and the results, how much the one needed the other for both protection and support. And there is no portion of history, the *Quarterly Review* tells us, in which it so behoves an Englishman to be thoroughly versed, as in that of the age to which these notices allude. The miseries of what is usually spoken of as civil war, to all who truly love and seek the peace and welfare of their country, should be as beacons, and utter voices of warning on the importance of well-directed public opinion; that extreme assumptions and purposes, whether of this class or that, should be timely and effectually discountenanced—that our country, churches, and families may never become a prey to the machinations of dangerous men. (d)

In themselves, wars are the great calamities of the human race. The Battle of Hastings, and the defeat of Harold, either swept the liberties of our Saxon fathers away, or placed them entirely under the strong will of the Norman and his military government. But, after some time, William and some succeeding monarchs, in matters of exaction and tallage, appear to have acted with the concurrence of a *council*. The first Henry was crowned with the consent of the *Common Council* and the barons of England; and, by charter, this monarch restored many privileges held under the Saxon kings and the laws of Edward the Confessor—one of which declared that aid should be obtained through a *convention of privileged men*. When attempts were made to annul this law, the rising intelligence of leading persons required its more solemn confirmation; and which, in 1225, at Runnymede, was done. The voice of Magna Charta is, no *scutage or aid* shall be imposed without the consent of, or by, the *Common Council* of the kingdom; and that this, as well as other privileges, shall be held by Englishmen for ever. Richard the Second invaded this law, and, by unworthy means, made the judges parties to its violation. For this they were impeached, and which brought out the facts that, by threats, opinions had been extorted from them; and that though Belknap, the chief justice, had earnestly refused to

(d) *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. iii., p. 358; *Quarterly Review*, October, 1821.

sign resolutions, yet, at length, he was forced to submit. To accomplish his purposes, Henry the Eighth issued *proclamations*, which subjected all who refused to submit, to pains and penalties; but the "good fathers of their country" would not sanction this abuse of power. When James the First took similar steps, the judges declared such *proclamations* to be illegal; and that by them the King could neither alter the laws of the land, nor create an offence which was not an offence before.

When the request of Charles to the Commons for supplies was not immediately met, he—misled by such precedents as have been just noticed—attempted, by tonnage, poundage, or ship-money, to raise them without the consent of the nation; and, at length, to rule without a Parliament. Hampden and many merchants refused to pay this tax. Sir John Eliot and others protested against it as illegal. The Speaker was kept in the chair, and the doors of the house locked, until the written protest passed the Commons. For taking the lead in some of these acts, Sir John Eliot, Holles, Strode, Selden, and others were fined and imprisoned. Sir John Eliot died in the Tower, and was deeply lamented. When permission was craved by his friends to take the body to Cornwall, to rest near the sepulchres of his fathers, this small favour was refused; and noble-minded men were roused by this denial to great indignation. (e)

The Council and the Star-Chamber were also employed to raise supplies, and had long been dangerous instruments of state policy. The Court of Commissioners—composed of noblemen, bishops, judges, and others—had been directed by Elizabeth to examine and settle disputes on ecclesiastical matters; but it afterwards became a court of revenue, to devise expedients for the supply of the treasury with money; and the persons who refused to acknowledge the justice of this mode of levying taxes were reported to the Star-Chamber, or from men in one position, to themselves in another. By Clarendon we are told, the Star-Chamber was, in a manner, the same court as the Council table, and composed mostly of the same men, who had passed from one room to another.

(e) Loudon's *Conversations*, pp. 10, 12, 19, 25, 57, 96, 158; Rapin's *History of England*, fol., 3rd ed., vol. i., pp. 190, 283, 287, 293, 465, 470, 827, 839; vol. ii., pp. 162, 190, 193, 259, 261, 271.

Most unjust and cruel were the sentences of this court on alleged offenders, as the sufferings of Leighton, and others of his day, declare. (*f*)

In addition to these illegal modes of taxation, the intolerance of High Church claims led to great changes, and rapidly hastened the calamities of the seventeenth century. The Church of England, as separated from the Church of Rome, had become the Church of the Reformation; and by her articles, and by all who by subscription had consented to them, it was declared the Church of Rome had erred in living, in matters of faith, and in ceremonies. The great object of the Reformers appears to have been to call men from the authority of the Church of Rome, and its claims, to the authority of Christ, the only Head of the Church; and to His mild yoke, as declared by himself in the Gospel, which is the only infallible rule to man in all matters of faith, and duties of religion.

In England, there were many to whom the Reformation, and the changes to which it led, were abhorrent. To conciliate these, from the days of Elizabeth, and onwards, men in high places began to restore old forms, and to recall words, usages, and things, which sincere Christians and martyrs had put away. The Lord's table, removed to the East in churches, was to become the altar; Christian ministers were declared to be priests. The cross, sometimes the crucifix, and massive candlesticks thereon, were the ornaments of the altar; and the people were taught to bow at the sight. Vestments, known as rochets, copes, and other forms, were to distinguish ministers; and worship was to become, or be administered as, an imposing ceremonial. These innovations gave much pain to the more devout bishops and clergy, as, in their opinion, a great departure from the spiritual worship enjoined by Christ, and from the simplicity of primitive Christianity. The remonstrances of good men were vain; and others of the class of Whitgift, Bancroft, Laud, and Sheldon, prevailed. Persons who could not sanction these changes were marked as disaffected, and subjected to unworthy treatment and privations. To say that signs appeared that night was approaching, as

(*f*) Rapin, vol. i., p. 285; History of the Church of England, by Thos. V. Short, D.D., Bishop of St. Asaph, 5th ed., pp. 386, 387, 395; Neal's History of the Puritans, ed. 1837, vol. i., pp. 338, 498.

shadows were becoming so much larger than bodies, and ceremonies regarded more than the power of godliness, was a crime. The London clergy were called before ecclesiastical commissioners, required, on pain of expulsion, to conform to the dress of a model figure set before them, and to the will of persons in power. Those who could not conscientiously obey were suspended. In this way, by persecution, the Puritans were driven from the Church, and made by intolerance what they then had no wish to become; that is, a separate section and body.

Separation from the Church led to the war of pamphlets, and severe measures. The Puritans were treated as a faction, which authority declared must be put down by the strong arm of power. Several were put to death, many fled for refuge to the then wilds of America; but in this, as in other cases, persecution failed to accomplish its purposes. After Elizabeth and James had passed away, others arose who were madly bent on the same object; the Star-Chamber sent Puritans and their friends to the whipping-post, and sentenced them to branding, cutting the ears, slitting noses, and cruelties which humanity shudders to relate. In these manglings, the names of Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and others, will be remembered by those who are acquainted with the history of that age. (*g*)

Star-Chamber proceedings, and some elsewhere of a similar spirit, filled moderate and Christian men with alarm, and led to the following address from Sir Benjamin Rudyard, in the House of Commons:—

We know well what disturbance hath been brought on the Church for vain petty trifles; how the whole Church, the whole kingdom, hath been troubled on where to place a metaphor or an altar. We have seen ministers, their wives, children, and families undone, against law, against conscience, against all bowels of compassion, about not dancing on Sundays. What do this sort of men think will become of themselves, when the master of the house shall come, and find them thus beating their fellow-servants? These inventions are but sieves made to winnow the best men, and that is the devil's occupation. They have a mind to worry preaching, for I never heard of any but diligent preachers that were vexed with these, and like devices. They would evaporate and dispirit the power and vigor of

(*g*) Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 286, 296, 302; Dr. Short, pp. 387, 395, 403; Neal, vol. i., pp. 40, 128, 141, 565, 567, 569; Dr. Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. i., pp. 469, 472, 490; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by Thomas Carlyle, vol. i., p. 75.

religion, by drawing it out into solemn and specious formalities—into obsolete antiquated ceremonies. Let them not say that these are the perverse suspicions or malicious interpretations of some factious spirits among us, when a Romanist hath boasted in print that the face of religion begins to alter, and the language of our religion to change. (*h*)

Lectures delivered by a Regius Professor at Oxford, on the Study of History, tell us, if the doctrines of any established church are not absolute and final truths, its corporate interests are apt to come ultimately into collision with the moral instincts of man pressing onwards, in obedience to his conscience, towards the further knowledge of religious truth. Then arises a terrible conflict. To save their threatened dominion, the defenders of ecclesiastical interests use, while they can, the civil sword, or wage terrible war. At length, as humanity asserts its power, these fail. Then follows a hopeless struggle for the last relics of religious protection, for exclusive political privileges, for tests, canons, and laws, which cannot abide; and by "beating fellow-servants and winnowing the best men," religion is made to appear the enemy of improvement and justice. The bearing of such "corporate interests" had not only entangled England in difficulties and distressing strifes, but Scotland also. When, in August, 1560, the people of the North renounced the rule of the Roman Pontiff, the Church was placed under the direction of superintendents, who, as temporary officers, were amenable for their acts to ministers and others in the General Assembly. But certain "corporate interests" disliked this order, and, in 1572, efforts were made to supplant it. Against these attempts the Assembly at Leith protested, and, in 1592, led to the establishment of Presbyterianism in North Britain; though by some, secret purposes, as after acts declared, were cherished to sweep this away, as soon as a supposed convenient time would allow. In 1610, by dexterous management, James contrived to collect and pack an Assembly at Glasgow, which restored Episcopacy. To this many refused to conform. From 1610 to 1637, the people were subject to great oppression; and, brooding over their wrongs and sorrows, they waited in hope for the season of deliverance, and the redress of their grievances.

At length this period came. In 1635, some canons were

(*h*) Rapin, vol. ii., p. 353: Dr. Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. ii., pp. 22, 47, 48.

most unwisely sent by Charles to Scotland, as the first step to intended alterations, and the introduction of a Liturgy. This was done without the sanction of either Parliament or Assembly, but by the will of, and a *proclamation* from, the King. This claim and assumed right, without the concurrence of the Church, was, in the words of Dr. Short, quite incompatible with the political existence of any church; and is supposed to have been made and asserted under the influence of Laud, and others of his stamp, who, as if above rule themselves, appear to have thought that, as the delegates of heaven, it was their privilege to command, and the duty of the many to obey. The prepared Liturgy was attempted to be read amidst great tumult at St. Giles', Kirk, Edinburgh, Sunday, July 23rd, 1637. Jenny, or Janet, Geddes distinguished herself on this occasion by a mode more bold than gentle; others cried "A Pape! a Pape!" The city and country were filled with noise and confusion, and the spirit of determined resistance soon pervaded the land. Another National Covenant, in addition to that of 1580, was prepared; and after a struggle and tales of horror, the Covenanters obtained what they claimed as the rights of the people and the privileges of the Church. This, however, was not accomplished until hostile purposes to compel the Scots to submission had utterly failed. On some account, the army led to Berwick, 1639, would not meet that of Lesley across the Tweed; the King negotiated with his northern subjects, and the pacification of Dunse-hill was the result. But by differences in the interpretation of its terms, this was soon violated. Another army was raised to crush the rebel Scots, and in April, 1640, a Parliament was summoned to furnish supplies. These were not immediately granted, and the King, in haste and anger, dissolved it. In August, 1640, the Scotch crossed the Tweed, marched on to the Tyne, and made themselves masters of Newcastle. The treaty of Ripon, October, 1640, brought what was known as the Bishops' War, to a conclusion. (i)

The dissolution of the late Parliament, on account of its

(i) Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 229, 302, 306, 314, 350; The Study of History, by Goldwin Smith, M.A.; History of the Church of Scotland, by Stevens, pp. 149, 173, 214, 300, 309, 313, 373, 408; History of the Church of Scotland, by Dr. Lee; and Review, Blackwood, March, 1861; History of the Church of England, by Dr. Short, pp. 398, 400, 402, 405; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by Carlyle, vol. i., pp. 75, 82, 84.

purpose to notice matters of grievance, the case of Sir John Eliot, &c., before it gave supplies, caused, in the words of Hyde (Clarendon) all good men to be troubled, and especially as the Convocation continued to sit, made canons, enjoined unconstitutional oaths, and gave subsidies in an illegal manner. The necessities of the Court were great; and as money could not be borrowed, both peers and merchants requested that another Parliament might be called, nor would they lend money but on this condition.

November, 1640, what is known in history as the Long Parliament was summoned; and which did not entirely and finally disappear until 1660. This immediately proceeded to redress grievances, to notice the severities suffered by Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, Lilburn, and others; delivered them from prison, abolished the Star-Chamber, impeached Strafford and Laud, to whose influence and advice the troubles of the nation were chiefly attributed. The acts of the late Convocation were carefully reviewed, and by an unanimous vote condemned. The clergy, it was determined, convened in Convocation or Synod, had no authority or power to make and enforce constitutions, canons, oaths, or any matters whatever of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without common consent of Parliament; and also, that the canons treated upon by the late Convocation do contain matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of Parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject, tending to sedition and dangerous consequences.

By the sixth canon of this Synod, it was required that all archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, persons in either University, and men engaged in professional life, should take the following oath:—

I, A. B., do swear that I do approve the doctrine, discipline, or government established in the Church of England.....that I will never give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c., as it now stands.

Those who obeyed were obliged to swear they took the oath willingly. Those who refused were suspended from their place or office. But as many thoughtful men knew not to what extent the symbol &c. after archdeacons might be carried, nor how, in after days, if entangled, it might be construed to their wrong and injury, they refused to be caught in this snare.

The spirit and acts of leading men, the canons of 1640, and the *Et-cætera Oath*, led to great reaction in the public mind, and to changes rapid and many. In the opinion of Montesquieu, "every religion that is persecuted becomes persecuting; for, as soon as from accident it arises from persecution, it attacks the religion that persecuted it, not as religion, but as tyranny." It would be happy for the world if men, when delivered from oppression, could act under the direction and control of calm consideration and Christian principles; but ere this will be exercised towards persons distinguished for the abuse of power, the tendencies of the mind and heart must be greatly changed. In 1641, the Commons were recommended to prohibit all spiritual persons from the exercise of any civil office, and to *exclude bishops* from the Parliament. April 5th, 1642, the Parliament voted the "*Negative Oath*." September 25th, 1643, "*the Solemn League and Covenant*" began to be taken. In 1646, the name, style, and dignity of *archbishops and bishops* were abolished. In 1648, "*the Agreement of the People*" was prepared, chiefly by Ireton. And, in 1649, "*the Engagement*" was substituted for the Oath of Allegiance. (j)

The purpose to arrest and impeach Pym, Hampden, Haselrig, Holles, and Stroud (or Strode), in the way intended, having failed, January 4th, 1642, the King went to the House of Commons himself; but, on looking around from the Speaker's chair, he found that "the birds had flown." In the House, deep murmurs were heard, and the cry of "privilege! privilege!" The members sought had gone into the city; whither, to be safe from the violence of men in arms, the Parliament soon followed. On the 10th of January, the King left Whitehall, never again to return until the day of sorrow; on the 22nd of the following August, set up his standard at Nottingham, and the die was cast.

To prudent and thoughtful men this step gave great concern and alarm, and led to the following address from Bulstrode Whitelock.

Mr. Speaker, it is strange to note how we have insensibly slid into this beginning of a civil war, by one unexpected accident after another, as

(j) Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 314, 316, 318, 320, 321, 352, 354, 358; Dr. Short, pp. 404, 405, 406; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., pp. 16, 19, 62; Life of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, pp. 2, 4; Cromwell's Letters, vol. i., pp. 97, 137.

waves of the sea, which have brought us thus far. But what, sir, may be the progress thereof? We must surrender our laws, liberties, properties, and lives into the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose rage and violence will command us and all we have; and reason, honour, and justice will leave our land; the ignoble will rule the noble, baseness will be preferred before virtue, and profaneness before piety. Of a potent people, we shall make ourselves weak, and be the instruments of our own ruine.

Pardon, sir, the warmth of my expression; it is to prevent a flame which I see kindled in the midst of us, that may consume us to ashes, and what the issue of it may be no man can tell. I wish the observation of the Duke of Rohan, in his "Interest of Christendom," may prove a caution, not a prophecy. He saith of England, that it cannot be destroyed but by its own hand, and there is not a more likely hand to do it than that of civil war. The best issue that we can expect of this is *victor-flet victus perit*. Which of these will be our portion is uncertain, and the choice should be avoided. (k)

In an old pamphlet of 1646, when this unhappy war was in progress, John White addressed the following lines to John Lilburn, on the parties, purposes, and dangers of that period:—

Some for the Parliament partake,
 Some for the King a partie make
 As he is King, and some that hee
 A tyrant might become to bee.
 Some would a popular estate,
 Some aristocracie create.
 Some are a faction for the Pope,
 Some to maintaine the prelats hope.
 Some strive for this, and some for that,
 Some neither know nor care for what,
 So warres go on, and yet they may
 Free quarter, plunder, and their pay.
 Some fight their liberties to save,
 Some that they others may enslave.
 Some for religion and for Christ,
 Some that they may doe what they list.
 Some for the Commonwealthe availe,
 Some for themselves with toothe and naile.
 And they that have the basest end,
 As fairly as the best pretend.

This is our portion, and while wee
 So foolish, false, and factious bee,
 Or while affaires continue thus,
 Who knows what will become of us?

To notice truthfully and impartially the calamities of those

(k) Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 363, 483, 566; Neal, vol. ii., pp. 131, 418, 470; Cromwell's Letters, &c., vol. i., p. 96; Life of Lord Chancellor Whitelock, pp. 11, 13.

days, and their causes, is no easy task. That the spirit and acts of *some*, which hurried the people to fearful extremities, were criminally wrong, will scarcely admit of doubt; and those who were goaded to resistance little thought to what that would lead. "He who plays a chief part in the great drama of life does not at first see the general effects of the scenes on which he acts. The intensity of feeling and passion prevents calm consideration, limits the view, and impairs the judgment." It will not be said that any party was entirely free from blame—that the stricter Puritans were always right—that the country party never erred—nor that the opposers of intolerance were always tolerant themselves. "One of the greatest misfortunes which attends reports of civil and religious disputes is, that they who succeed to the principles of different parties take them up, as men do an inheritance descending by succession, with all the incumbences on it; and then proceed, with the utmost eagerness, to clear the premises of every burden. This disposition, and the means taken, after a short interval of time, often make the truth of the alleged facts to be as much a subject of controversy as the integrity of the principles from which it had been supposed leading men proceeded." Yet this fact may be noticed: history, written by no friend to the Puritans, tells us that the present age is greatly indebted to the Independents—a section of that people—for invaluable privileges. If uncourtly and somewhat rugged, the Puritans appear to have been either formed for, or made what they became by the events of, the days in which they lived. Men less firm and decided would not have wept, suffered, and bled as they did, for the most noble of prizes. Greatly did their patience and perseverance prepare the way for the more tolerant spirit and laws of William and Mary; and may it not be said that—as the instruments of Divine Providence—in a large degree, they virtually bequeathed to us the civil and religious liberty which is the noblest privilege of our country?

Just at the time of the fiercest struggle of those perilous days, Bartholomew Westley, as a Christian minister, was called to public life. From the time of the late Rev. John Wesley's death, and when Dr. Whitehead, Dr. Coke, and Henry Moore wrote the life of this good man, down to the days of Southey's "Life of Wesley," it has been said, and repeated by many, that Bartholomew Westley held the living

of Arlington, or Allington; and that from this he was ejected on the restoration of the second Charles. Allington was then a village at the west of Bridport, but which now adjoins that town. Dr. Calamy, in his "Continuation," mentions a report which had been made to him: "I have been informed that Mr. Westley was ejected from Arlington;" but in an onward page of his work, his record states that Bartholomew Westley was the clergyman of "Charmouth, near Lyme, in Dorset."

Palmer, in his first edition of the "Nonconformists' Memorial," copied this statement as to Arlington, and placed an asterisk before it to declare it to be doubtful; but in his second edition he corrected the error. The biographers of the Wesleys, in their haste to prepare their work, took the statement from the first edition of Palmer's "Memorial," saw not the correction in the second; and by this mistake and oversight, report has continued to say that Bartholomew Westley was ejected from Arlington. (1)

When places, names, and dates, can be accurately obtained and given, such information is much valued by those who seek truth in history. But this, apparently, may be more successfully sought in historical notices without, than in some family records within, whether as to names, or dates of birth and death, as given by Wesleys themselves—especially as to the family name, which has been written Westley, Wesly, and Wesley. In copies of preserved official documents, and by men of the Nonconformist age (with the exception of the Whitchurch register) from the days of Bartholomew, of Charmouth, to those of Samuel, afterwards of Epworth, Westley was the usual form.

Westley, the Parson of Charmouth.—Jennings, 1664.

Westley, then Minister of Charmouth.—Mrs. Wyndham, 1631.

The Minister of Charmouth, one Westley.—Dr. Bates, Elenchus, 1685.

Westley, the . . . Minister of Charmouth.—Wood, 1691.

Charmouth, Bartholomew Westley.—Baxter and Dr. Calamy.

Simply to attest the truth of the above, part of a letter to the writer may be added.

Keswick, *Dec.* 28, 1835.—You who take so much interest in the his-

(1) Dr. Calamy's *Continuation*, vol. i., pp. 429, 437; Williamson's *Lectures*; Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, 1st ed., vol. i., p. 442; 2nd ed., vol. ii., p. 115.

tory of the Wesleys may be gratified by knowing that I have obtained the following notices of Samuel from Cambridge.—ROBERT SOUTHEY.

Incorporatus, 1694.

Samuel Westley, A.B., Coll. Exon. Ox.

Samuel Westley, A.M., Coll. C. C., Camb., 1694.

On some account, afterwards, the rector of Epworth wrote his name Samuel Wesley, and in this form it has been continued by his descendants. (*m*)

In 1648, Bulstrode Whitelock, John Lisle, and Serjeant Keeble, as Commissioners of the Great Seal, were ordered to inquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings to which the cure of souls was annexed, to obtain the names of the incumbents who supplied the cures, and also their respective salaries.

In 1650, the required returns had been made, and from the following copies we learn the annexed facts:—

CATHERSTON.

Bartholomew Westley's glebe, five acres, worth £3 10s. His small tithes, £10. In all, £13 10s.

CHARMOUTH.

Bartholomew Westley, the present possessor by sequestration. The house and four acres of land are worth, per annum, £4. The tithes of the parish, £18. They desire that Catherston may continue united, as it was by order of the Committee of the County. (*n*)

Charmouth is a village in the south-west of Dorset, between Axminster and Bridport; and about two miles from Lyme. On a hill northward, a short distance from Charmouth,

(*m*) In a letter from Archbishop Tillotson to Dr. Burnet, dated Lambeth House, August 31, 1694, the following information is given:—"My Lord Marquis of Normanby having made Mr. Waseley his chaplain, sent Col. Fitzgerald to propose him for a bishopric in Ireland, wherewith I acquainted Her Majesty, who, according to her true judgment, did by no means think it fit."

"The name is thus spelt by the Archbishop, but the person was probably Mr. Samuel Wesley or Westley, who is known to have been chaplain to the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire. His grandfather had been minister of Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, before the Restoration; and his father, Mr. John Westley, lived at Whitchurch, in that county. He entered himself a servitor of Exeter College, in Oxford, about the beginning of Michaelmas term, 1684, at the age of eighteen."—Birch's Life of Tillotson, 2nd ed., pp. 307, 308.

(*n*) Life of Lord Chancellor Whitelock, p. 98; Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., p. 129.

fir-trees may direct the inquirer to Catherston, an old Briton abode, and defended place.

Samuel Norrington, the previous rector of Charmouth, was, in 1640, sequestered; on what account is not known. In that day various reasons and motives led the people of parishes and others to send petitions to men in authority for the removal of alleged unfit and improper ministers. Zeal for ritualism and ceremonies led some to be regarded as superstitious and as favourers of idolatry. Others, by disloyalty, raised opposition against themselves. Many, on account of immorality, were declared to be "scandalous"—a class, as Dr. Fuller wrote, whose offences called to heaven for justice. The Parliament selected a committee, and appointed John White, "a grave lawyer," chairman, to examine the complaints and petitions which had been presented. In 1643, John White printed the "First Century of Scandalous Ministers," which, in the opinion of Mr. Baxter, should never have been published. There was another class of sequestered ministers, of which many were probably truly conscientious and worthy men—persons, who, on account of sincere attachment to long acknowledged doctrines, modes, forms of church government and worship, could not as quickly as others place themselves under the yoke of the Solemn League and Covenant, and on this account were ejected from their livings. If they were upright men, and without blame as to other things, was not this both persecution and tyranny? To seem to justify such proceedings, the usual custom which Dr. Campbell, in his *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, mentions was adopted—"to blacken as much as possible the designs of an antagonist, in order the more easily to bring odium on his opinions, is the too common, though detestable, resource of theological controvertists:" and the ministers of this class were declared to be "Malignants," though, perhaps, less malignant than their persecutors. Yet with these deprivations some mercy or justice was mingled; they were not in destitution cast on the world, as one-fifth part of the value of their livings was allowed them for their support, whatever causes led to their sequestration; nor were any, except by continued hostility to the Government, left without some provision for themselves and families.

When, in accordance with instructions sent by the Earl of Manchester to appointed committees, a clergyman or schoolmaster was supposed to be justly charged with some offence,

the report of the case, and the evidence was sent to him. If he thought the charge was such on which, as directed by the Parliament, he should act, a warrant was sent to the churchwardens to remove the offender, and then, in connection with the parishioners, to choose some proper person to fill the vacant place. When the name of the person selected, and his character, were sent to his lordship, these were submitted to appointed persons—to the Assembly of Divines, when they had been called—if, on examination the minister recommended was approved as an orthodox divine, and qualified for the work of a pastor, he was appointed to the parish. (o)

In this way, it may be supposed, Bartholomew Westley became the minister of Charmouth, and, in the order of the day, succeeded Laurence Orchard at Catherston. By appointment of the County Committee, he was a pluralist, and his both adjoining parishes gave him some thirty-six pounds a year, from which a fifth, or seven pounds yearly, were due, and no doubt paid, to former rectors. Mr. Westley, as a man of prudence and piety, appears to have lived in good repute among his people. In common with others, the times had required from him pledges of fidelity to the Government of the day, and with these neither conscience nor duty would allow him to trifle. But there is no evidence that he was, what seldom, if ever, does honour to a Christian minister, a meddling, bitter, political partizan. Had this been his character, had he preferred partizanship to piety, and the tale of suspicion to the worship of God with his family, singular and special was the opportunity given to him for notoriety.

In the opinion of the late Dr. Copelston, Bishop of Llandaff, the escape and preservation of Charles the Second after the Battle of Worcester, September 3rd, 1651, is by far the most romantic piece of English history. The "account," as dictated by the King himself to Pepys, is now before the writer, but no large use will be made of this, except the relation of the journey from Trent to Charmouth, and the departure the next morning from Charmouth to Bridport and Broadwinsor. It may be noticed that after the battle was lost, the King left for White-Ladies, near Tong-Castle; was led by Richard

(o) Dr. Short, p. 410; Baxter's Life, vol. i., pp. 21, 186; Neal, vol. ii., pp. 190, 258, 260; Dr. Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, l. xxv.

Penderell to a wood; afterwards to the house of Mr. Woolfe, Madeley. The next day hid in an oak near Boscobel; at night found a refuge at Mr. Pitchcroft's (Mr. Whitegreaves). Proceeded to Colonel Lane's, at Bentley; from this place, as William Jackson, rode before Mrs. Lane to the house of Mr. Norton, at Abbotsleigh, near Bristol; and from thence, as William Jackson, the serving-man, before the same lady, to Colonel Wyndham's, at Trent, a village some four miles on the north-west of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. The ancient Trent House still remains, where the King's room and hiding-place may yet be seen.

That some way for escape might be found, Frank Wyndham went to Melbury, to consult with Giles Strangeways. The latter directed Wyndham to a merchant at Lyme, whose name was Ellesdon. Through this merchant a vessel was engaged for France, and the time of her departure from Charmouth appointed. On this day, the King, as William Jackson, rode before Mrs. Judith Coningsby (the "neice" or cousin of Lady Wyndham) to Charmouth—"a little village hard by Lyme; and waited for the boat to come to the creek to take the party to the ship; but she failed us. Having sat up all night in vain, in the morning, Lord Wilmot and Frank Wyndham's servant went to Lyme, to learn the reason of the disappointment; but troubled how to pass the time before an answer could be obtained, we resolved to go to a place called Burport (Bridport), and there wait for news from Lord Wilmot."

This, in outline, as far as the "little village," or Charmouth, is concerned, was the King's own report to Pepys; and which does not contain one word about a "fast day; a chapel opposite the inn—a weaver preacher, who had been a soldier, preaching to his congregation—and Charles among the hearers." These were inventions of Clarendon; Wood, and his fanatical minister; Carte, and Bartholomew Westby, the rigid, foolish, Presbyterian minister; and of others, who, after the Restoration, thought the more Puritans and Nonconformists could be caricatured and maligned, the better the Church and the State would be served. In a letter from Dr. Copelston to J. Hughes, Esq., the narrative of Clarendon is said to abound in blunders and inaccuracies. By a reviewer these were attributed to lapses of memory, and history written under the affliction of age, infirmity, and exile, without documents to correct, or notes to assist the frailty

natural to the best of memories. Lister declared the work of Clarendon to be but an apology for one party. Wood's censures are but little heeded—he libelled Clarendon, which led his work, or that part of it which contained the libel, to be condemned and burnt at Oxford; and Carte might have read of Bartholomew Westby, of Watford, who is mentioned in Clutterbuck's "History of Herts." (*p*)

By Blount, Ellesdon, and Mrs. Wyndham, the Charmouth part of this tale is more minutely related and embellished. Colonel Wyndham, as Captain Norris, hired Stephen Limbry, master of a Lyme coasting vessel, to take some friends to France, and for which he was to have sixty pounds. The captain was told, in confidence, that the persons were of the Royal Party, who, to avoid imposed oaths and engagements, were wishful to leave as privately as possible; and to this end requested Limbry, on the night of the 22nd of September, to send his boat to the Charmouth Creek—to take them from thence to the ship; and to sail immediately. To this proposal the master agreed. That this might not lead the seamen to suspect something wrong, the captain was advised to tell them that Mr. Payne, one of the passengers, was a merchant, pursued by his creditors, wishful to reach St. Malo's as quickly as possible, to adjust his affairs; and, on this account, he and they were to sail at such an unseasonable hour.

These arrangements being made, Colonel Wyndham sent Henry Peters, his clever servant, to engage the inn at Charmouth for a wedding party, who, in flight from opposing friends, would reach Charmouth the evening of September 22nd, refresh themselves, and during the night, or early in the morning, pursue their journey onward to be married. By skilful address, Peters secured his object so cleverly that the landlady promised her house and servants should be at command.

On the day appointed the King left Trent, rode before Mrs. Judith, or Julian Coningsby, and, under the guidance of Colonel Wyndham, safely reached Charmouth in the evening. Lord Wilmot and Peters kept at some distance to prevent suspicion,

(*p*) Boscobel Tracts, by J. Hughes, Esq., A.M., 2nd ed., pp. 2, 8; Quarterly Review, No. 124; Edinburgh Review, No. 139; Clutterbuck's History of Herts, vol. i., p. 122; Carte's History of England, vol. iv., p. 646.

but soon after came to the inn. As night approached, the colonel and his servant went towards the sea. They anxiously waited, but no boat appeared. Charles and Lord Wilmot, as they sat up in the inn, were equally perplexed on not being called away. At length the day began to dawn; the colonel returned, and entreated the King to haste away from the place as quickly as possible.

The very day Charles reached Charmouth, which was a fair-day at Lyme, the proclamation of the 10th of September, issued by the Parliament, was publicly read to the assembled people; which offered a thousand pounds for the apprehension of the fugitive; declared that any who concealed him, or his friends from Worcester, would be abettors of treason; and if any who were able did not give information of his or their hiding-place, the Parliament would regard them as parties "to their trayterous, wicked practices, and designs." The proclamation also forbade any, for a limited time, to leave the country without a license. The wife of Limbry was at the fair, and a listener when this proclamation was read.

On the evening of the 22nd of September, Limbry went to his bedroom to take what he needed for the voyage, and told his wife that he was about to sail that night. She, either from surprise or suspicion, asked him why he would go to sea, having no goods on board. He replied, that Mr. Ellesdon had found him a valuable freight in some friends of his, whom he was to take a short distance. Immediately the wife became alarmed, or, as Mrs. Wyndham wrote, "affrighted into a pannick fear by the proclamation she had heard;" suspecting the persons to be Royalists, she at once locked her husband in the room, and, by the help of her daughter, kept him there. When he endeavoured to get free, she threatened that she would at once go to Captain Macey, who commanded the military then at Lyme; give information, that both he and the gentlemen should be examined, rather than permit her family to be ruined for ever. "All his persuasions and entreaties were vain, and such were her clamorous lamentations, that he feared, if he contended longer, both he and the gentlemen he had promised to transport would be cast away in this storm, without ever going to sea."

While Lord Wilmot was at Lyme, to learn the reason of the disappointment, his horse was taken to Hammet, or Hamnet, a smith, at Charmouth, to be shod. On noticing some pecu-

liarities of the shoes, he was certain they had not been set in the West, which led to suspicion as to the parties who had left Charmouth that morning, and the person to whom the horse belonged. These suspicions became known to Henry Hull, one of Captain Macey's soldiers, but then an hostler at the inn. The latter began immediately to speak of the strange conduct of the party who had sat up all night, and kept their horses saddled, as if for sudden departure. The hostler ran to Westley, then minister of Charmouth, to give information; who was engaged in his "morning exercise," and could not be seen. Afterwards, Hammet, the smith, went to Mr. Westley, to tell his tale; but as the parson of the parish was at "worship and prayer with his family," he returned without having accomplished his object, and Lord Wilmot rode safely away. But when these matters of notoriety in the village came to be fully known to Mr. Westley, he took Hammet to Mr. Butler, at Commer, a magistrate, to report what he knew to him. In the position which Mr. Westley held at Charmouth and the neighbourhood, could the rector of the parish, whether as to the claims of public duty, or what he owed to his own safety, could he, in Christian prudence, have possibly done less? Having done this, there is no evidence that he did more. When these rumours were heard by Captain Macey, at Lyme, he at once went in pursuit of the suspicious strangers. But they, at a short distance from Bridport, had turned from the more public road into a narrow lane on the left, which led them to Broadwinsor; and by the choice of this road they safely escaped from the pursuit of Macey, who rode on to Dorchester in vain.

The adornings of the lady writer, and those of her class, of Mr. Westley's long-winded prayer; the peculiarities of his conversation with "Margaret," the landlady at the inn; her replies to the "puny parson;" his being "nearly suffocated" by his haste to reach the magistrate, &c.;—these may be placed among the inventions of "loyal fanaticism, which render Blount sometimes absurd, and from which the *claustrum* of Mrs. Wyndham is not entirely free." (q)

Some truth there is, but dash'd and brew'd with lies.

The defeat at Worcester, and the exile of the King, in the

(q) Boscobel, pp. 30, 70, 268, 304, 341; Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., p. 526; vol. iv., p. 377. "Little Wesley" was Palmer's designation of Samuel, of Epworth; and his sons, John and Charles, were below the middle stature.

opinion of Hallam, led to a train of favourable events, which, more than any deep-laid policy, brought sovereignty within the reach of Cromwell. The unsettled state of the nation, the frequent conflict in, and with leading persons in the army, declared that something was wanting to give solidity and stability to the Government; especially the support of public opinion, without which those who rule are comparatively powerless. Change after change had been made, to little purpose; until, at length, strife led Cromwell to the Protectorate. Soon after, if history may be credited, from either pressure without, or aspiration within, there were thoughts as to a position and a title yet more exalted.

In 1651, several leading members of the Parliament were requested by Cromwell to meet him at the house of the Speaker. From these, when assembled, counsel was asked on the best way to settle the affairs of the nation. The Speaker was of opinion that something should be done to this end. Whitelock said he thought a mixture of monarchy would be the best mode; and with him Widdrington, and the Chief Justice, St. John, agreed. The latter thought it desirable that the Parliament should meet the late King's eldest son, or the Duke of York, and on agreeable and safe terms as to their persons, and the civil and religious liberty of their country, endeavour to obtain some fit settlement of affairs for the welfare of the nation. But this meeting led to no agreement as to any practical results.

In November, 1652, Cromwell again consulted Whitelock on the dangers of the day; how they might make good the station so dearly bought by so much hazard, treasure, and blood; not be fooled out of their successes by jarrings and animosities one against another, and bring those mischiefs on themselves which their enemies could not do. Whitelock freely expressed his thoughts on the great danger connected with factions in the army, emulation among the officers, and unworthy contention for place and honour. In reply, "if there is no just suspicion of dramaturgy," on the part of Whitelock, Cromwell asked, "What if a man should take on him to be a king?" The reported answer of Whitelock was, "The remedy would be worse than the disease."

Yet, in the early part of 1657, the Speaker, attended by the Commons, presented a petition to the Protector, which requested him to take this title and place. Cromwell desired the appointment of a committee, with whom he

might freely confer on this important matter. His wish was granted. Many and long discussions took place on the question; but, at length, on the 8th of May, Cromwell replied, "I cannot undertake this Government with the title of King;" as if other supposed duties of the hour—zeal for what Cromwell believed to be God's truth, and the establishment of a government according to His will—were more the ruling principles, than ambition of another sort. In the opinion of Guizot, "God does not grant to the great men who have set on disorder the foundations of their greatness, the power to regulate, at their pleasure, and for centuries, even according to their better designs, the government of nations." (r)

If, as the same writer supposes, the last and dearest object of Cromwell was to transmit a crown and a sceptre to the members of his family, as their birthright, by antagonistic influences he was taught that, though he could conquer, he might not found. As the great leader of the army to victory, he won its almost unbounded respect and confidence; but the Parliament had suspicion and fear of the both; purposes were cherished to avert if possible, by some Bill, the causes of alarm, and to declare such petitions as the army had lately presented to be high treason. When this design became known to men in arms, they determined that the fragment of the Long Parliament, of twelve years continuance, had become old and unsuitable to the times; and that it must and should be speedily dissolved. While the Commons were intent on passing an important bill, Cromwell appeared in the house, for some time listened to the debate; but when the question, "That this bill do now pass," was about to be put, a signal was given; some twenty or thirty grim men in arms entered the house; Cromwell, in the assumption of dangerous power, said, "You are no Parliament;" and, at his own will, April, 1653, declared it to be dissolved.

By this despotic act and "sacrilege against the Constitution," this section of the Long Parliament became suspended for six years. On Cromwell's behalf, for what was to him a "doubtful step," the plea has been, the danger justified the act, and that, by the violation of the letter of the Constitution,

(r) Life of Whitelock, pp. 145, 149, 154, 270, 354; Edinburgh Review, No. 209, pp. 13, 15, 18; Cromwell's Letters, &c., vol. ii., pp. 304, 310, 323; vol. iii., 301.

he preserved its spirit. This excuse will not be readily admitted; nor that, at mere personal will, such acts should either be attempted or tolerated. Rapin, indeed, says, "no other course could have been taken without throwing the state into terrible confusion." (s)

Many persons thought very differently, who supposed that other and much better courses than those which led to the conflict, and ruled as it proceeded, should have been chosen. These are opinions on which, when both sides are carefully examined, men—either from attachment to party and position, to habit, to fame, or to gain—greatly differ. By the history of nations and men we are taught that ungoverned impulse and lofty purpose—such as impelled one to go up to Ramoth-Gilead to battle; another, at all hazards, to cross the Rubicon; and others, in religious matters, to risk everything for what is decayed, waxed old, and vanished away,—modes and ceremonies adapted to the heir when a child; and opposers to war against these fiercely, as if doing battle for the very existence of Christianity; impulses of this kind have, in their consequences, greatly distressed nations, churches, and people, in different ages of the world. If to persons, even in lowly places, "there is no action in this life which is not the beginning of so long a train of consequences that no human providence is high enough to see the end," how much more will this apply to the acts of men in exalted stations, who hold in their hands the threads of an almost interminable net-work, which, for their weal or their woe, may safely guide, or entangle, masses of unoffending people. "Beware of entrance on a quarrel." Happily, both in matter and in mind, a living, wise, and merciful Being presides and rules; in the one, causing what we term "disturbing forces" to adjust and balance each other; and in mind (no thanks to the intentions of men), educing from their criminal violation of law and order, great and unspeakable advantages:

From evil still educing good,
And better thence again, and better still,
In infinite progression.

In the judgment of one class of writers, "the Constitution, in the seventeenth century, even in its deepest depression in

(s) Rapin, vol. ii., p. 589; Cromwell's Letters, &c., vol. ii., pp. 307, 321, 322, 330; Edinburgh Review, No. 209, p. 34.

the days of Charles, contained within itself copious materials for self-restoration; and the course pursued by the Calvinist malcontents was not that which the laws suggested for the redress of grievances. These, though they excited discontent, arose from no scheme of tyranny in the crown, but from the means of feudal oppression, and the rapacity of powerful men." This statement has been, and continues to be, regarded as the mere expression of party feeling; and opinions on the opposite side will meet with no better fate. Facts of this kind, and painful experience from being brought unwillingly within the unholy strifes and proceedings of party warfare, have taught some to think of the unwelcome opinion which Addison did not think it imprudent to avow: "For my part, I must own I never yet knew any party so just and reasonable that a man could follow in its height and violence, and at the same time be innocent." For the faith once delivered to the saints, all who bear the Christian name should, in the spirit of Christianity, earnestly contend; but in matters of human opinion, on which men, equally thoughtful and good, see not eye to eye, forbearance in love, in accordance with the will of God, is among the duties of Christianity. Yet, in times of strife, words like these are not generally acceptable, and, certainly, they do not usually lead to either honour, fame, or profit. "He who speaks, and writes, and acts merely for one party will be likely to please one; but an honest man has generally the mortification to find that he pleases no party, because he wishes to do good to all." What is meant may be more clearly told in the words of two eminent and most excellent men, Bishop Hall and Mr. Baxter, who lived in the strifes of the seventeenth century, and were attached to opposite parties. The former asked, "Who can escape free? Surely I, that tax both, shall be sure to be censured of both. Shall be? Yes, am, to purpose; and therein I joy; yea, and will joy. 'What! a neuter!' says one: 'What! on both sides!' says another. This is that I looked for. Yes, truly, brethren, I am for the peace of both," &c. In Mr. Baxter's opinion, "extremes are very pleasant to human nature. Most men are so fond of them that they'll run as far as from one pole to another in a breath, rather than stop in a more temperate region. Such is their eagerness, that nothing but what is violent and furious can suit them; and, therefore, it hath often been observed, that men of a calm and a healing spirit,

whose great aim it has been to avoid extremes, have been assaulted on both sides with equal fury, as if they were a sort of common enemies."

Long had it been the custom to attribute almost unmixed evil to the Parliaments of the first half of the seventeenth century. On Cromwell a few persons believed "heaven's own spirit fell;" but the multitude were taught to give utterance to a very different opinion; and by admirers of Butlerisms, and productions of that class, the Puritans and Nonconformists were the objects of their rude scoff and derision, as either dismal ogres or horrid fanatics. But in the present age, which is eminently one of resuscitation, other opinions have arisen, and now largely prevail; and as they are correct, cheering evidence is given that truth cannot be perpetually hid and fettered, nor one-sided statements always conceal the real character of men of worth. In the notice of Guizot's "*Cromwell*," by the *Edinburgh Review*, we are told: "to readers of English history the Protector has, by presentation, appeared as either a religious fanatic and hypocrite, who, by crooked ways, sought the honours of sovereignty, and who, by the height to which he rose, darkened the remainder of his life with sorrow; or as a man never wholly without a deep sense of religion, though often able to wrest it to worldly purposes, and, if never altogether without ambition, yet with the highest feelings and principles intermingling with the earlier promptings of it: a man not always loving liberty, but always restless and insubordinate against tyranny; and with his hand upon the crown, yet driven back from it by the influence of old republican associates." A third opinion, apart from both of these, has arisen from the entire of "*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*," as collected and given by Carlyle; and which is: "Cromwell was no hypocrite, or actor of plays, had no vanity or pride in the prodigious intellect he possessed, was no theorist in politics or government, was no victim of ambition, was no seeker after sovereignty or temporal power; but he was a man whose every thought was with the Eternal, governed in all things by the Supreme law; whom no fear, except that of the Divine anger, could distract, and who sought only to do the work, whatever it might be, whereunto he believed God had called him." "No man," the *Quarterly Review* says, "was so worthy of the station which he filled as Cromwell, had it not been for the means by which he reached

it," &c. On the 3rd of September, 1658, Cromwell died; was long reviled by hirelings and party scribblers; but, at length, nobly vindicated, in the judgment of all impartial men, by the research and high-minded advocacy of a living author. "Honour be to Thomas Carlyle for the service he has rendered in redeeming him from reproach," &c. (*t*)

Richard, the then eldest son of Oliver, who became Protector, had neither the capacity for civil and military affairs, nor the diligence and energy, which distinguished his father. The military ruled, and were dissatisfied; the Protector was betrayed by his nearest relations. On the 21st of April, 1659, the lately elected Parliament was dissolved, and with it the power and office of Richard fell.

Wednesday, May 25th, 1659, Sir Gilbert Pickering acquaints the House that he and the Lord Chief Justice St. John did repair unto the eldest son of the late Lord General Cromwell, touching his subscribing a paper, which he did sign with his name, Richard Cromwell.

I trust my past carriage hitherto hath manifested my acquiescence in the will and disposition of God, and that I love and value the peace of this Commonwealth much above my own concerns.....I could not be active in making a change in the government of this nation; yet, through the goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in it, &c.—

RICHARD CROMWELL. (*u*)

Richard was deposed, but party strifes and public disorder continued. The next attempted remedy was the restoration of "the Rump," that part of the Long Parliament which remained after 1648, but so abruptly dispersed in 1653. This section began to reassemble in May, 1659. The call of one

(*t*) Lawson's Life of Archbishop Laud, pref., pp. 12, 13; Bishop Hall's Sermon; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., p. 74; Cromwell's Letters, &c., vol. i., pp. 10, 13; vol. iii., 366, 376; Quarterly Review, No. 25, pp. 331, 345; Eclectic Review, Dec., 1847; Spectator, Nos. 125 and 399; Edinburgh Review, No. 209, pp. 13, 15, 16.

(*u*) Cromwell's Letters, &c., vol. i., p. 250; vol. ii., pp. 2, 8, 22; vol. iii., 373; Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 602, 615; Life of Whitelock, pp. 348, 349; Journal of the House of Commons, vol. vii., pp. 664, 665.

NOTE.—May 1st, 1649, Richard Cromwell married Miss Dorothy Mayor, of Hursley, a manor between Winchester and Romsey, Hants. At the Restoration he fled to Geneva, but, about 1680, returned to England, and, as Mr. Clarke, lived either at Cheshunt or Hursley. When the latter was his abode, the Independent Chapel at Romsey was Richard's place of worship, and tradition long pointed to "Cromwell's pew" therein. Richard died July 13th, 1712, nearly 86 years of age.

part only, and the continued exclusion of the Presbyterians, led the latter to unite with the Royalists in purposes to restore the King. This union soon changed the aspect of things, and disturbances began to prevail in many places. To quell and put down these, a "Committee of Safety" was appointed, but its efforts were in vain. A strong man approached from the North, and in the steps and apparent purposes of Monk things darkly loomed, which filled many hearts with fear. Becoming more than suspicious of danger, Lord Willoughby and others requested Whitelock to see Fleetwood on the importance of immediately communicating with the King at Breda; and, on such terms as would secure the liberties of the nation and the welfare of the people, to seek his restoration. But the opportunity was lost, and, unhappily, another never returned. In February, 1660, chiefly by Monk, the excluded Presbyterians of 1648 were called to their places in the Parliament, they having first given a pledge that in less than a month they would dissolve, and immediately call another. This was done, and on the 25th of April, 1660, what was afterwards known as the "Convention" began to assemble.

A letter from the King, dated Breda, April 14th, was read in this assembly, and which said:—

We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.

In reliance on this promise, leading Presbyterians, their ministers, and others, greatly contributed to the immediate restoration.

But in their expectations, they soon found themselves lamentably disappointed. The Convention restored the King, and the former laws, civil and ecclesiastical, to the same position as they were at the beginning of the war. There were some few who did not so fully confide in the promise and pledge from Breda as their brethren, but had painful suspicions that coming events would deeply affect both them and their beloved ministers; and this led to the appointment of a committee to report things which might occur on matters of religion. On the 5th of May, a well-designed Bill was read, to establish ministers in their livings. To prevent them from being removed from their parsonages and their parishes as ministers, this Bill was read the second time the

16th of May; and as the majority in this Parliament or Convention were its friends, they might have timely passed it. But May, 29th, 1660, the King came to Whitehall; and on the 1st of June the Convention was declared to be the Parliament. The Bill, which had been read twice, was delayed, and soon Clarendon withdrew from the Commons all notices of Church matters, which were to be moulded elsewhere. In a short time, the designs of the Court began plainly to appear, and persecution became the order or disorder of the day.

The first approach of the tempest was felt by the good men whom parishioners had chosen and recommended to persons in authority, for appointment to vacant parishes, and to succeed sequestered ministers. Almost immediately after the King's return, these, as "intruders," were cast out and driven from their livings. The ejection of ministers at different periods is not always so distinctly stated as it might be by persons who give historical notices of those times. Many were ejected soon after the Restoration, but the greater number on Bartholomew-day, August 24th, 1662.

The following copies of ecclesiastical records notice the ejection of Bartholomew Westley:—

CHARMOUTH.

Rectors.—Samuel Norrington, 1599. He was sequestered, 1640. Bartholomew Westly, intruder. He was ejected after the Restoration. Timothy Hallett, 4th March, 1662.

CATHERSTON.

Rectors.—Laurence Orchard. Bartholomew Westly. Benjamin Bird, 14th October, 1662. (v)

Instead of such harsh and unchristian measures of state policy, it is supposed that other plans might have been adopted, which would have preserved the King and his Council from the charge of faithlessness and ingratitude, satisfied the large and influential number of good men, and led to the welfare of the nation. The modified plan of Archbishop Usher was recommended, and some few changes in the Liturgy; but moderation could not be heard. The ministers of the day, set apart by the "laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," were required to submit to be reordained, in this way virtually

(v) Quarterly Review, No. 124; Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., pp. 429, 524; Dr. Short's Church History, pp. 422, 482, 488; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., p. 142; vol. ii., pref. pp. 5, 17.

to declare that their previous ordination was invalid and worthless; that their ministry was but assumed and pretended; and that, in fact, they never had been ministers of Christ at all. To do this, such able ministers of the New Testament as Baxter, Howe, Bates, Henry, and others, could not submit. In their opinion it would not only have been an act of self-degradation, but also a sin against God, which would do great injustice to the Church of Scotland, and the reformed churches abroad. And because they would not virtually declare what, in truth, they could not—that all ministers not Episcopally ordained were without valid orders—two thousand clergymen, generally as worthy and as excellent as the Church has ever seen, were ruthlessly ejected from their churches, driven from the people who had chosen them as their ministers; and many, “of whom the world was not worthy,” were left to poverty, sent to prison, or sunk, in persecution, to an early death, to leave their families in distress and sorrow.

In order that those ministers who previously had been, or who had lately become, Episcopally ordained, might continue to hold livings in the Church, it was required that they should declare their unfeigned assent and consent to the contents of a book then undergoing change, but which a great part of the clergy had neither seen, nor could have seen, in a corrected and attested state, or know what it said, before the day of subscription or ejection came.

To prepare the way for changes and severities, alleged purposes of seditious preachers, and of plots against the Government, were widely circulated, to disturb the mind of the people and alarm the nation. When these inventions were sufficiently abroad, Clarendon addressed a long speech to the Parliament of 1661, as the great physicians of the kingdom, whose duty it would be to cure the evils of a greatly distempered nation. “And if the old laws have not enough provided for the punishment of wickedness, it will become your wisdom to provide new remedies for new diseases, &c.” (*w*)

Facts soon declared the meaning, intent, and purpose of this address. December, 1661, an Act was prepared for regulating corporations, which required every mayor, alderman, common

(*w*) Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 624, 627; Stuart Dynasty, vol. ii., p. 298; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., pp. 197, 202; Life of Clarendon, pp. 166, 171.

councilman, and other officers of corporations, in addition to the oath of allegiance and supremacy, to declare that "the Solemn League and Covenant was unlawful, unlawfully imposed, and to swear that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King," &c. Any member of a corporate body who refused to submit to these demands, and others disliked by persons of influence in counties, were, at the will of commissioners, removed from the position and duties to which they had been called by their fellow-townsmen, and more pliable persons were appointed to vacant places, with or without the consent of their neighbours, whom they were to govern, &c.

May, 1662, the Act of Uniformity passed, which required the clergy, on pain of losing their livings, to conform to the worship of the restored Church of England, and to the Book of Common Prayer, when the alterations and emendations should be complete. By very likely unanticipated delay, before this book could have been seen by the clergy at large, all were required to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in it, to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant; and if after this Act came into operation (Bartholomew-day, 1662) any person, not ordained priest by Episcopal ordination, should administer the Lord's Supper, for every such act and offence he should forfeit one hundred pounds.

May, 1664, the Conventicle Act was added to the Book of Statutes. This declared that every person above sixteen years of age who should be found at any meeting, under pretence of any exercise of religion in any other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England, where there are five persons more than the household, shall, for the first offence, pay five pounds, or be liable to three months' imprisonment. For the second offence in this manner, ten pounds shall be imposed, or six months' imprisonment; and for the third offence, the forfeit shall be one hundred pounds, or transportation to the plantations (America). In notices onward of John Westley, of Whitchurch, the operation of this Act will be seen.

In 1665, the Oxford or Five Mile Act passed, which said, "no Nonconformist teacher, under what denomination soever, shall dwell or come, unless upon the road, within five miles of any corporation, or any other place where they had

been ministers, or had preached after the act of oblivion, unless by oath they declared the unlawfulness of taking arms, upon any pretence whatsoever, against the King."

And rare, indeed, especially under a constitutional government, must be the danger in which such an act can be justified. Yet it has sometimes happened that persons, even by laws, who have laid snares for others, have very unexpectedly ensnared themselves. In the very next reign, when the second James was king, the framers of this Act, or their friends, did not think the taking of arms against a monarch to be unlawful. In the words of Burnet, "they thought it good and wholesome doctrine only while the application was confined to others, or enemies." Never may such acts, nor the occasion for them, be found again. (*x*)

Until the Five Mile Act came into operation, Bartholomew Westley appears to have remained at Charmouth, and supported himself and his family there, as both Dr. Calamy and Jennings state, by the practice of medicine. Abraham Jennings, probably a member of the Sandridge and Churchill family, attached to the Stuarts, in his "*Miraculum Basilicon*," 1664, says, "This Westley, of Charmouth, is since a Nonconformist, and lives by the practice of physick, in the same place." (*y*)

The continuance of Mr. Westley at Charmouth, where, as a minister, his public, and largely his private life, were well known, is evidence that in very peculiar circumstances his conduct was unimpeachable. After the Restoration, it was, no doubt, very carefully examined, and interested writers made the most of what they could gather; yet no fear of scrutiny led the late rector to remove from his home. His worthy son was several times imprisoned, but it is not known that anyone found cause to incarcerate the father.

After his ejection, Mr. Westley preached as he had opportunity; but this, when the Conventicle Act passed, must have been done in secret places, and the Five Mile Act must have driven him from Charmouth. In what place of seclusion, as an exile, he found a retreat, we know not. There is reason to suppose that this was, at first, somewhere in the neighbourhood, and that he and his friends, from both Charmouth and Lyme, occasionally met to encourage each other in the name of their

(*x*) Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 628, 637, 641; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., pp. 181, 183, 201, 299, &c.; Quarterly Review, No. 50, pp. 297, 298.

(*y*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lv., p. 427.

Lord. Tradition has long said, that between rocks in the solitudes of Pinney, the Nonconformists were accustomed to assemble, and made wilds and cliffs their hallowed places of prayer. To this day a dell, or hollow, near the white cliffs on the west of Lyme, is known as "Whitechapel Rocks."

The record of these supposed facts is not made for the mere purpose of writing it—no pleasure is felt in the statement of many things—nor is there the least purpose to give pain to any good man of any religious body. But, on many accounts, the remembrance of them should not be allowed to perish. The faith, the conversation, the course and conduct in life of eminent Christian confessors and martyrs ought to abide, be considered, and followed; nor the causes of troubles be forgotten, lest either stealthy or open designs of dangerous men should pass without timely notice, and the miseries of persecution and war be again brought on the country. Such things as have been, extreme opinions both on this side and on that—no faith, all faith, or "another gospel"—should timely warn us to what they may lead. Rarely has counsel been more turned to foolishness, nor plans and purposes more signally defeated, than those of the days of Whitgift, Bancroft, Strafford, Laud, Clarendon, Sheldon, and others. It was thought that distinguished men were about to be annihilated, or made "fools and knaves." But it was soon seen that some higher power was in operation—that weak men could strangely become strong men—that conscience had claims, and truth might, which the "vain presuming hand" of man could not destroy. Smithfield might kindle its fires, and the Star-Chamber revel in its cruelties; but Divine truth survives all, and can never die. Such doings are not only of the Wicked One, when open and violent, but also when they assail men in the dark, rob them in whispers of their good name, and hunt them to obscurity. In the words of the *Christian Observer*, "Persecution should be sometimes estimated by a nicer scale—to be made a bye-word, to stand despised and alone, where good men might naturally wish to be esteemed and loved; to be taunted, thwarted, and rebuked by former companions and friends;—this is the refinement of moral persecution—the reproach that breaks the heart:" and by the latter, in addition to the former, the cup of the ejected ministers was filled to the brim.

In age, and when the vigor of life was gone, the affection and tender heartedness of the father did not wane nor depart.

He lived several years after he had been driven from his rectories and silenced; but the early death of his harshly-treated and oft-imprisoned son—the hope and the staff of his life; when this son, John Westley, of Preston, fell, soon after Bartholomew Westley, heart-pierced, outcast, and alone, bowed his head, and died. In the words of Southey, “the loss of this, his only son, brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.”(z)

At Charmouth, the fruits of Mr. Westley’s ministry remained. After his death, for the friends with whom he had worshipped in secret places and in solitudes, when better times came, “a meeting was opened in Charmouth,” in which the Rev. John Brice, who had been ejected from Marshwood, in Dorset, was the minister, and who continued in this position until his death, March 15th, 1716. Whether Messrs. Westley and Brice remained with the Presbyterians is not known; many did not, but became Independents. If so, the disturbances at Exeter, in connection with the ejection of Messrs. Peirce, Hallett, and Withers, which begun the year Mr. Brice, of Charmouth, died—and through High Arianism, and afterwards what has been known as Socinianism—caused Presbyterianism to die out, not only in the West, but in most parts of England also. This change must have caused Presbyterianism to be but a name in Dorset. A letter from the late Independent minister of Charmouth, the Rev. Benjamin Jeanes, gives the following list of ministers, from the death of Mr. Brice to the recent time when this letter was written:—

The Rev. JOHN BRICE.
BATTEN.
HENDERSON.
SEAWARD.
TOZER.
MIALL.
CROOK.
JEANES.

Bartholomew Westley had long remained comparatively among the unknown; nor is there a record or stone to tell the time and place of his death, or where his ashes lie. But through a people raised up by the instrumentality of his great-grandchildren, his name has a monument, read or reported from Charmouth to the ends of the earth.

(z) Southey’s *Life of Wesley*, 3rd ed., vol. i., p. 6; Dr. Calamy’s *Continuation*, vol. i., pp. 429, 430.

JOHN WESTLEY, M.A.;

VICAR OF WINTERBOURN-WHITCHURCH, DORSET.

1658—1662.

JOHN WESTLEY, the son of Bartholomew, was born about 1636. In those days the children of truly good parents were, from very early life, accustomed to receive such instruction and direction as led to valuable enduring impressions and to primitive beliefs, with the same regularity as they received their daily food; nothing which was not based on Christianity, and sanctified by the word of God and prayer, was thought worthy the name of education. If the reader inquire more particularly how this was done, he should be directed to the biography and works of good men of the age; the life of Philip Henry, and of his son, Matthew, for example. Records of this class teach us that family religion, reading the Scriptures, diligent attention to suitable questions in the form of catechism—especially on the evening of the Lord's-day—praise, and prayer, were held to be important family duties and privileges; by such training children and servants were taught the duties they owed to the One Living and Merciful God, and to men in the various relations of life. In this order it was the privilege of John Westley to be educated, and from infancy to be dedicated to the service of God. It afterwards became the great comfort of his parents to know that they had not thought, prayed, and laboured in vain; and it would be injustice to the memory of each to withhold some notices of the fruit of this care, as, through the kindness of Dr. Calamy, they have been preserved in his short record of Mr. Westley's life.

It pleased God to incline him to remember his Creator in the days of

his youth, and to lay him under serious impressions in his tender years. Mr. Westley had a very humbling sense of sin, and a serious concern for his salvation, while he was a schoolboy. He began to keep a diary soon after God began to work upon him, and not only recorded the remarkable steps and turns of Providence that affected his outward man, but especially the methods of the Spirit of Grace in his dealings with his soul; what was the frame of his heart in his attendance on the several ordinances of the Gospel, and how he found himself affected under the various methods of Divine Providence, whether merciful or afflictive; and in this course he continued, with very little interruption, to the end of his life.

In this way Divine mercy prepared him for the rough paths of after life. Hutchins, the Dorset historian, in communication with a Mr. Bartlett, of Wareham, appears to have seen and quoted from this "Diary." Does any of the Bartlett family yet continue in the south of Dorset? and does this "Diary," or any portion of it, yet remain? (a)

When his school education terminated, John Westley was sent to Oxford, that at "New Hall," as "a son of the Prophets," devoted to the Christian ministry from his infancy, he might be trained and prepared for this important work, and enter the ministry in the best state of fitness. The days in which he grew up from childhood to youth abounded in changes, and at length these could not pass without his notice. The purposes and acts of great men had led to impeachment, and some fell on the scaffold. When one of these was arraigned, Pym, the member for Tavistock, arose and said,—

There is an expression in the Scripture which I will not presume either to understand or interpret; yet to a vulgar eye it seems to have an aspect something suitable to the person and cause before you. It is a description of the evil spirits; wherein they are said to be "spiritual wickednesses in high places." Crimes acted by the spiritual faculties of the soul; the will and understanding exercised about spiritual matters concerning God's worship and the salvation of man, seconded with power, authority, and learning, and many advantages, do make the party who commits them very suitable to that description, "spiritual wickednesses in high places." (b)

References have been made to "Covenants" which circumstances forced on the Scotch for their protection and safety;

(a) Dr. Calamy, vol. i., p. 437; Wilson's Life of De Foe, vol. i., p. 11; Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., p. 117.

(b) Penny Cyclopædia, vol. xix., p. 148; Article "Pym."

and the price demanded by the North Britons for help afforded to England in the time of peril was the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant in this country. By the review in *Blackwood* of Dr. Lee's "History of the Church of Scotland," we are told that "a vast confederation of men united together by an oath for the accomplishment of a political, or other purpose, is an anomalous and dangerous power in the state. Promissory oaths ought to be resorted to as seldom as possible, and never without the warrant of public authority. If employed as a sanction to plain and undeniable duties, they are of little use. If used to create new obligations with reference to doubtful lines of action, or distant traits of future time, they are almost sure to embarrass the conduct and perplex the consciences of those who take them, by bringing them into conflict with unexpected events or higher claims of duty. If they are sought to be imposed by any kind of coercion upon those who are unwilling to embrace them, they become a cruel engine of tyranny, and a fertile source of moral corruption." And such, as to tyranny, was the attempted imposition of the Solemn League and Covenant on many of the episcopal clergy, and in the loss of their position and its advantages as the penalty of withholding their signatures.

The condition made with the English Puritans, to assist them to put down alleged dangerous principles, *Blackwood* says, looked like an attempt on the part of the Scotch to inflict on England the very same injury from which they, as to Episcopacy, had so lately escaped themselves. It appears to have been confidently expected that as *Jure-Divino*, Presbyterianism would have become established in England, so that the long-assumed Divine right of Episcopacy would pass to the Divine right of the Presbytery. These anticipations and claims led to great embarrassment, and created powerful antagonisms. On the part of the clergy it was greatly feared that the Parliament would become, or in some form substitute, a lay prelacy, to take the gone power of the bishops; and the Parliament was equally suspicious and watchful to prevent any new spiritual ascendancy, which would grasp, under another name, such claims and authority as had been lately swept away. In fact, one great party had great jealousies and fears as to the designs and objects of the other.

To balance these matters if possible, in 1643, the Parlia-

ment nominated and called to Westminster the Assembly of Divines, not to originate and determine questions themselves, but to deliberate on such matters as the Parliament might submit to their attention, and then report their opinions to the decision of the Parliament, which only could give them authority.

This Assembly met July 1st, and soon the question of the *Jure-Divino* right of the Presbytery to govern the Church was mooted. When this was about to be put, Whitelock addressed the Assembly:—

Mr. Prolocutor, I am none of those who except against the Presbyterian form of government; I think it hath a good foundation, and hath done much good in the Church of Christ. But, sir, whether this form of government be *Jure-Divino* or not, may possibly admit of some dispute. *A government is Jure-Divino*; but whether this or that government—whether Presbytery, Episcopacy, Independency, or any other form of government, be *Jure-Divino* or not—whether there be any prescript, rule, or express command of the Holy Scriptures for any of these particulars, will not be admitted by many men as a clear thing.

At length, after a second attempt, and another address from Whitelock, it was carried to leave the "*Jus-Divinum*" out. (c)

The members of the Assembly of Divines were called from the several counties, and as wishful to give every section of the Church an opportunity to declare its opinions, the Parliament selected and invited to this end many of the most learned Episcopal Divines—the majority in this Assembly were Presbyterians. Some were Erastians, as Whitelock, Selden, and others; men deeply skilled in language and in law. Others, the harbingers of tolerant principles, were Independents, as Bridge, Burroughes, Dr. Goodwin, Nye, and Sympson. These "Dissenting brethren," few at first, were, as Dr. Lingard states, men of energy and talent, veteran disputants, eager, fearless, and persevering, whose attachment to their favourite doctrine had been rivetted by persecution.

Long before this period, Congregational or the opinions of the Independents on Church government, had been held in this country, especially in the eastern counties. In 1580, Robert Brown was a minister of this class, in Norfolk; he was assisted

(c) Blackwood's Magazine, March 1851; Dr. Short, pp. 423, 425, 427; Life of Lord Chancellor Whitelock, pp. 18, 23.

in his labours by Harrison and others; their disciples were many, and they held that the Church was a congregation of faithful men. As Independent teachers, Thacker and Copping suffered death at St. Edmundsbury. Barrow, of the Temple, and Ainsworth, the deeply learned author of the "Annotations on the Pentateuch," &c., were Independents; the latter, as an exile, was a porter at Amsterdam, and lived on a few boiled roots, until a bookseller discovered his worth. In 1592, a Congregational Church met in Nicholas-lane, London, and sometimes, as the members could, in other places. A congregation of fifty-six was discovered at Islington, most of whom were committed to gaol. April 6th, 1593, Barrow and Greenwood, leading Independents, were executed at Tyburn; and about six weeks after (May 29th), Penry, another Independent minister, met the same fate; yet the Independents largely increased, a great number left the country for America, to seek in remote wilds "freedom to worship God;" so many were those exiles, and those who waited to follow them, as to cause Sir Walter Raleigh to say in the House of Commons, "I am afraid there are twenty thousand in England who wait to be of the number, and when they are gone, how are the wives and children who may be left behind to be supported?" Robert Brown, and others, afterward returned to the Church.

The Independents, or Dissenting brethren, in the Westminster Assembly, at length, by endurance, perseverance, and Christian temper, made their onward way. Between extremes, they thought "the truth to lie and consist in a middle way." July 1st, 1647, it was proposed that some eleven or twelve ministers should be selected, and their names presented to the House of Commons, "to draw up a moderate way of church discipline as may not be prejudicial to the Presbyterian government, nor leave those unsatisfied who dissent from them in some particulars by tenderness of conscience; and that Master Maynton (Manton?), M. Valentine, Corall (Caryl?), Strong, Burgess, Wharton, Whitaker, Salaway, Valentine, Carter the elder, and Bridges, were chosen."

The Independents consented to the stipulation that they should be bound only to such government as accorded with the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches. The Independent churches continued to increase, and, before the death of the Protector, had become a very considerable body; among these were great numbers of rich and substantial

persons. At their petition a Synod was granted to draw up "a declaration of faith," &c.; and, October 12th, 1658, ministers and messengers from above one hundred Congregational churches met together, and agreed on the "declaration" proposed. (d)

Many visionaries and Antinomians in the army were known as Independents, but who must not be classed with the persons above noticed. If the "Gangræna" of Edwards may be credited, the army preachers were persons of great extravagance, infested the country from east to west, and gave great trouble to the acknowledged ministers of the day. Edwards, in the second part of the "Gangræna," pp. 152-172, notices some of their sayings and doings at Bere and at Dorchester, where they were met by the Rev. William Benn, of Allhallows, in the latter town. This good clergyman, as well as many others around, in the early days of Parliamentary rule, were sincere and zealous Presbyterians; but by the claim of Divine right, and the attempted exclusion of those who thought differently, Presbyterianism greatly waned; and they who supposed "New Presbyterian was but Old Priest writ large," largely increased. The Independents numbered among their friends and supporters, such distinguished men as Dr. Owen, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, John Goodwin, John Howe, Theophilus Gale, Stephen Charnock, John Westley, of Whitechurch, and many others.

With several of these John Westley was associated at Oxford, where, as Dr. Calamy reports, he was noticed for his seriousness and diligence. Mr. Westley applied himself particularly to the study of the Oriental languages, in which he made considerable progress, and for him Dr. Owen, the vice-chancellor, had great kindness. Dr. Owen is said to have noticed pious worthy persons very kindly, encouraged the diligent and learned, and among the young men of the University acted as a father. (e)

John Westley continued at Oxford until he became M.A.

(d) Rapin. vol. ii., p. 527; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., pp. 83, 86, 136; Peirce's Vindication, pp. 143, 144; Dr. Short, pp. 311, 425; Neal, vol. i., pp. 335, 336, 367; vol. ii., pp. 689, 670; Collection of Pamphlets, British Museum, vol. cccxxi.; Hanbury's Memorials, &c., vol. i., pp. 1, 14, 35, 62, 71, 164; vol. ii., 204, 460, 556; vol. iii., pp. 1, 179, 515, 594.

(e) Life of Dr. Owen, by Orme, p. 127, &c.; Life of John Goodwin, by Jackson, p. 59, &c.; Hanbury's Memorials, &c., vol. iii., pp. 179, 183, 412, 419, 517.

Having honourably acquitted himself at the University, he returned to Dorset, and made Melcombe, or Weymouth, as the united towns are now known, the place of his abode. To Oxford Mr. Westley had taken the inestimable treasure of genuine piety, and amidst snares and dangers in the perilous days of youth, happily retained it. To this, next to the control of Divine grace, the diligent occupation of time very likely greatly contributed. On his return to Dorset, he was soon found in close connection with the "Gathered Church" at Weymouth, and appears to have thought that to be an intelligent and devout Christian would be his noblest distinction. At that time, the parochial ministers of Wyke and Weymouth, Melcombe and Radipole, were George Thorne and Walter Burgess. In addition to these, were Edward Buckler, one of Cromwell's chaplains, and afterwards ejected from Calbourn, in Hampshire; another of the name of Damer, ejected, in 1662, from Wick, in Dorset; and Peter Janeway; the latter were either occasionally or successively ministers in these towns or the neighbourhood, and probably one of them was the minister of the "Gathered Church" of which Mr. Westley was a member. (f)

By this church, when about twenty-two years of age, Mr. Westley was called to public life; at first, to the work of the ministry, as an Evangelist, or missionary, at Radipole, a village two miles distant from Weymouth; among seamen in this port, and the neighbourhood. When Mr. Walton, the aged vicar of Whitchurch died, the estimation in which Mr. Westley was held, led the people of that parish to request him to come to their help; and on their becoming more fully acquainted with him, and approving his character and ministry, the parishioners requested that he might become their appointed minister. By trustees, Whitchurch was presented to him. By the church at Melcombe, he was, by fasting and prayer, devoted to the work; and by the ecclesiastical authority of the day he was examined and approved. In May, 1658, with a mission from God and from man, Mr. Westley entered on his benefice as the vicar of Whitchurch, and is mentioned as below, in the ecclesiastical records of the parish.

WINTERBOURN-WHITCHURCH.

Vicars.—Tobias Walton, 1603. John Westley, M.A., 1658; ejected, 1662. Edward Sutton; instituted, 1679.

(f) Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., pp. 69, 415, 417, 602.

The village of Winterbourn-Whitchurch is near a bourn or stream of usually clear water—a summer brook, but a winter torrent; and the great western road passes by it, five miles west from Blandford towards Dorchester. To the traveller in this direction, the church begins to appear as he descends a hill to the village; by the inquirer from the west, it is not seen until he begins to ascend this hill. In the west of Dorset is the parish of Whitchurch-Canonicorum. To Mr. Westley, Whitchurch yielded about thirty pounds a year; he occasionally preached at Turnwood, but to what money advantage is not known. An augmentation of one hundred a year, or to raise his income to that sum, was promised, but the changes of that day made the promise vain.

Some nine miles north of Charmouth, the then parish and abode of Bartholomew Westley, is Broadwinsor, of which Dr. Thomas Fuller was the minister. This well-known writer was the son of the Rev. Thomas Fuller, rector of Aldwinckle, in Northamptonshire; the wife of the latter was sister to Dr. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury. To the young Fuller, as his nephew, the bishop gave the living of Broadwinsor; and soon after this clergyman became resident in Dorsetshire, he married “a vertuous young gentlewoman of that county,” apparently a sister of Dr. C. Burgess.

A few months after John Westley’s appointment to Whitchurch, he married a niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller.

By a letter from the late Rev. John Wesley to his brother Charles, dated January 15th, 1768, we are enabled to connect the Westley family with other highly esteemed clergymen, formerly of Dorset.

You know that Mr. White, some time chairman of the Assembly of Divines, was my grandmother’s father.

John White, long known as the “Patriarch of Dorchester,” was from Stanton St. John, in Oxfordshire. About 1605, he became the rector of Trinity, in the town of Dorchester. In 1643, he was called by the Parliament to the Assembly of Divines, and was thought to be one of the most moderate and excellent of its members. The Prolocutor was Dr. Twiss. The Assessors were John White and his brother-in-law, Dr. Cornelius Burgess; one of whom, in the absence of Dr. Twiss, was appointed to take his place as chairman. The wife of this John White was the sister of Dr. Cornelius Burgess, of

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Batcombe; and, as the copy of the above letter tells us, these were the Dorset great-grand-parents, on one side, of the late Reverends John and Charles Wesley.

Batcombe, in Dorset, is about twelve miles, on the north, from the county town, and four from Cerne; Broadwinsor is upwards of twelve miles, on the west, from Batcombe; and Charmouth about nine miles south-west of Broadwinsor. The incumbents of those parishes in the south-west of Dorset—that is, John White, Cornelius Burgess, Thomas Fuller, and Bartholomew Westley—were clergymen and neighbours together. John Westley was probably—as his son Samuel was afterwards—educated at the Grammar-school, Dorchester; and, if so, early became known to Miss White, the daughter of the rector of Trinity, whom he afterwards married. From his connections, as the son-in-law of John White, the nephew of Dr. Fuller and Dr. Burgess, it is not too much to infer the esteem in which this young man was held. (g)

Samuel Wesley, of Epworth (son of John, of Whitchurch), and John Dunton married sisters, who were daughters of Dr. Samuel Annesley, and grand-daughters of John White, the member for Southwark, of whom Clarendon wrote as “a grave lawyer.” On his tomb, as Dunton said, was this inscription:—

Here lies a *John*, a burning, shining light,
Whose name, life, actions, all alike were *White*.

If this “John White, Esq., member of the House of Commons, 1640, was the father of Dr. Annesley’s wife, lately deceased,” then the children of Samuel Wesley, late of Epworth, were descended from two celebrated men of the name of “John White.” (h)

John Westley, of Whitchurch, married the niece of Dr. Fuller soon after his appointment, 1658, and the next year became a father. Soon after Cromwell fell, the changes which followed prevented Mr. Westley from receiving the promised

(g) Hutchins’ Dorset, vol. i., p. 609; vol. ii., p. 5; Life of Dr. Fuller, p. 13; “Worthies,” ed. 1811, vol. ii., p. 233; Wood’s Athen. Ox., vol. iii., pp. 236, 631; Clutterbuck’s Herts, vol. i., p. 256; Rev. John Wesley’s Works, ed. 1841, vol. xii., p. 125; Hanbury’s Memorials, &c., vol. ii., p. 217; vol. iii., p. 422.

(h) Complete History of Remarkable Providences, printed by John Dunton, 1697, chap. cxlvii., p. 157.

augmentation, and family claims obliged him to set up a school for support. At Whitchurch, as the old parish register declares, the following children were born and baptized:—

1659.

Timothy, the son of John Wesley, vicar, was baptized April 17.

1660.

Elizabeth, the daughter of John Wesley, vicar, was baptized Jan. 29.

1662.

Samuel Wesley, the son of John Wesley, was baptized December 17.

Whitchurch, Nov. 10, 1856.—On searching the old register for the information you desire, and which I hope may be of some service to Mr. Beal, in addition to the above, I find the following entry:—

May 2, 1662.—Collected towards a breife for the Protestants in Lithuania the summ of twelve shillings and sevenpence.

And delivered to the } by me, JOHN WESLEY, Vicar."
constable, John Snell, }

In printed records of the Wesley family there are several difficulties as to dates and things, which it is not easy to adjust; to some of which a writer in the "Penny Cyclopædia" refers, vol. xxvii. p. 229, and the Whitchurch register supposes another. John Westley, of Whitchurch, married soon after May, 1658. In April, 1659, Timothy, his firstborn son, was baptized; and Samuel, his second son, at Whitchurch, December, 1662. If this Samuel was the same who afterwards became rector of Epworth, instead of being about eighteen years of age when, in 1684, he entered at Exeter College, Oxford, he must have then been twenty-two years of age.

It has been usually said that Matthew Wesley, surgeon, was the eldest son of John Westley, of Whitchurch; but the parish register and the father's signature say that Timothy was the firstborn and eldest son.

Did the first Samuel die early, and—as Hutchins, Wood, Dr. Calamy, and others report—was the Samuel, of Epworth, born at Preston, in 1666; then in 1684 he would have been eighteen years of age, but not aged 72 in 1735. If both Matthew and Samuel were born at Preston, Matthew might have been the elder of the two.

But from such notices we return to the Restoration, and to the reign of violence to which it led. Informers went about

in disguise, and, like wandering players, lived on the plunder of industrious families. These strollers, as they became known, were the terror of the Nonconformists, and the reproach of a civilized nation. As spies, they were sent to congregations, to mark and report to magistrates or bishops what they had heard; and if any minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, expressed his concern for the ark of God, &c., he was marked as an enemy to the King and his Government; and on such information, prudent men, as John Howe and others, were hurried to prison. (i)

These facts of history may be illustrated by adding, so was John Westley, of Whitchurch. While, in the sincerity and affection of his heart, this good clergyman was endeavouring to fulfil his ministry, and when he had no suspicion of such evil traitorous workers, spies and ungodly men were watching his movements, and listening to his words, for the purpose of ensnaring him.

Before the writer is a copy of mischievous information, secretly conveyed by such spies to three magistrates, against Mr. Westley, and which led one of them, on such testimony, to send him to Dorchester gaol, as if deserving to be associated with vile men and felons. The statements of those informers are too long fully to copy, but the following is a sample of their character.

Articles against Mr. John Wesly, Clerk, Vicar of Winterbourn-Whitchurch.

That he did raille against the late King as a destroyer of ye children of God.

That he hath extraordinarily in the pulpit praised and extolled Oliver.

That hee said hee and some others (which hee called saints) had spoken with God, and that here were some which never speak with Him.

That Mr. Wesly preached, and said hee had preached to them many godly and goodly sermons, but they were never the better, and when Christ would judge the world, it would be a great grief to his heart to see them.

That he rode with Major Dewey a trooping to Dorchester.

That divers times in the pulpit hee railed against bishops as papisticall, &c.

(i) Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., p. 117; Dr. Calamy's Historical Account, ed. 1830, vol. i., p. 459; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii., pp. 66, 202.

The articles were witnessed by those whose names are underwritten:

Mr. Thomas Pistle.	James Squibb.	Matthew Abbott.
Mr. James Meech.	Richard Squibb.	Henry Barber.
Mr. Robert Humber.	Walter Brookman.	Henry Dennis.
Robert Joyce.	John Davies.	Richard Dennis.
		Edmund Fell.

February 5, before

Thomas Freke, Esqr., one of ye deputy lieutenants.
William Frampton, Esqr.
Robert Freke, Esqr.

Endorsed in the handwriting of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, 14 May, 1661. Information and witnesses against Mr. John Westley, Vicar of Whitchurch, in com. Dorset.

From Dorchester gaol Mr. Westley sent petitions to the King and his Council, on the injustice done him, and to request that he might be set at liberty. From the following little known documents, the statements of Mr. Westley may be inferred:—

1661, 26 June, Whitehall.—Upon the petition of John Wesley, of Winterbourn-Whitchurch, in the county of Dorset, complaining that he was committed to prison by one of the deputy lieutenants of the county, and after some time enlarged; and on the 2nd of May was committed by a military power on pretence of an order from the Duke of Richmond, and prayed his Grace's order for his enlargement upon baile, and his Grace declared he would not meddle therein.

It is ordered, that the said petition be referred to the right honourable the said Duke of Richmond his Grace, who is desired to examine the businesse, and if he find cause, to sett the prisoner at liberty; otherwise, to report the cause of his restraint unto this board.

1661, 24 July, Whitehall.—On reading and consideration this day had at the board of the humble petition of John Wesley, of Whitchurch, in the county of Dorsett, clerke, setting forth that the petitioner, upon misinformation, and through malice of his enemies, hath been imprisoned for the space of five months and upwards, without any charge given, or any liberty to make his just defence, and praying that in regard of his extreme necessitous condition, having a wife and children to maintaine, he may be sett at liberty.

It is ordered by their lordships, that the petitioner, first taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, be sett at liberty from his present restraint accordingly.

In obedience to this authority, Mr. Westley was taken to a magistrate, who refused to administer the oaths; but July 29th, he issued a warrant to direct the prisoner to be taken before the judges at the assizes and gaol delivery to be holden at Dorchester, the 1st of August, 1661, to await their order; and by the judges he was set free.

But by this liberation from unjust imprisonment the

troubles of Mr. Westley were not at an end. Magistrates and others, through the reports of spies and informers, endeavoured to enlist the bishop of the diocese on their side, if, by any means, on examination, they might deprive Mr. Westley of his vicarage, or in some way subject him to prosecution in a court of justice. Dr. Ironside, the then Bishop of Bristol, had been rector of Steepleton and Abbas Winterbourn, parishes in Dorset, not far from the residences of the Pitfields and the Glissons, to whom reference will be made. By some means Mr. Westley was informed that Bishop Ironside wished to see him, and which led the vicar to wait on his lordship.

On Mr. Westley's introduction, the bishop said "There are many great matters charged against you. Sir Gerrard Napper, Mr. Freak, and Mr. Tregonnel have told me of your doings, on the oaths of several honest men." To which Mr. Westley replied there were no oaths given or taken. But the whole of the conference, as taken by Dr. Calamy from Mr. Westley's diary, should be here given and preserved.

Bishop.—What is your name?

Westley.—John Westley.

Bishop.—There are many great matters charged upon you.

Westley.—May it please your lordship, Mr. Horlock was at my house on Tuesday last, and acquainted me that it was your lordship's desire that I should come to you ; and on that account I am here to wait upon you.

Bishop.—By whom were you ordained ? Or, are you ordained ?

Westley.—I am sent to preach the Gospel.

Bishop.—By whom were you sent ?

Westley.—By a Church of Jesus Christ.

Bishop.—What church is that ?

Westley.—The Church of Christ at Melcomb.

Bishop.—That factious and heretical church !

Westley.—May it please you, sir, I know no faction or heresy that the church is guilty of.

Bishop.—No ! Did not *you* preach such things as tend to faction and heresy ?

Westley.—I am not conscious to myself of any such preaching.

Bishop.—I am informed by sufficient men, gentlemen of honour of this county, viz., Sir Gerrard Napper, Mr. Freak, and Mr. Tregonnel, of your doings. What say you ?

Westley.—Those honoured gentlemen I have been with ; who, being by others misinformed, proceeded with some heat against me.

Bishop.—There are the oaths of several honest men who have observed you ; and shall we take your word for it that all is but misinformation ?

Westley.—There was no oath given or taken. Besides, if it be enough to accuse, who shall be innocent ? I can appeal to the determination of the great day of judgment, that the large catalogue of matters laid against me are either things invented or mistaken.

Bishop.—Did not you ride with your sword in the time of the Committee of Safety, and engage with them ?

Westley.—Whatever imprudences in matters civil you may be informed I am guilty of, I shall crave leave to acquaint your lordship, that his Majesty having pardoned them fully, and I having suffered on account of them since the pardon, I shall put in no other plea, and waive any other answer.

Bishop.—In what manner did the church you speak of send you to preach ? At this rate everybody might preach.

Westley.—Not everyone. Everybody has not preaching gifts and preaching graces. Besides, that is not all I have to offer to your lordship to justify my preaching.

Bishop.—If you preach it must be according to order ; the order of the Church of England, upon an ordination.

Westley.—What does your lordship mean by an ordination ?

Bishop.—Do not you know what I mean ?

Westley.—If you mean that sending spoken of, Rom. x., I had it.

Bishop.—I mean that. What mission had you ?

Westley.—I had a mission from God and man.

Bishop.—You must have it according to law, and the order of the Church of England.

Westley.—I am not satisfied in my spirit therein.

Bishop.—Not satisfied in your *spirit* ! You have more new-coined phrases than ever were heard of. You mean your *conscience*, do you not ?

Westley.—*Spirit* is no new phrase. We read of being “ sanctified in body, soul, and *spirit* ; ” but if your lordship like it not so, then I say I am not satisfied in *conscience* touching the ordination you speak of.

Bishop.—Conscience argues science, science supposes judgment, and judgment reason. What reason have you that you will not be thus ordained ?

Westley.—I came not this day to dispute with your lordship. My own inability would forbid me to do so.

Bishop.—No, no ; but give me your reason.

Westley.—I am not called to office, and therefore cannot be ordained.

Bishop.—Why, then, have you preached all this while ?

Westley.—I was called to the *work* of the ministry, though not to the *office*. There is, as we believe, *vocatio ad opus, et ad munus*. (j)

Bishop.—Why may you not have the office of the ministry ? You have so many new distinctions. O, how are you deluded !

Westley.—May it please your lordship, because they are not a people that are fit objects for me to exercise office-work among them.

Bishop.—You mean a gathered church ; but we must have no gathered churches in England, and you will see it so ; for there must be unity without divisions among us, and there can be no unity without uniformity. Well, then, we must send you to your church, that they may dispose of you, if you were ordained by them.

Westley.—I have been informed by my cousin Pitfield and others, concerning your lordship, that you have a disposition opposed to morosity. However you may be prepossessed by some bitter enemies to my person, yet there are others who can and will give you another character of me.

(j) A call to the *work*, and a call to the *office*.

Mr. Glisson hath done it ; and Sir Francis Fulford desired me to present his service to you, and, being my hearer, is ready to acquaint you concerning me.

Bishop.—I asked Sir Francis Fulford whether the presentation to Whitchurch was his. Whose is it ? He told me it was not his.

Westley.—There was none presented to it these sixty years. Mr. Walton lived there. At his departure, the people desired me to preach to them ; and when there was a way of settlement appointed, I was by the trustees appointed, and by the triers approved.

Bishop.—They would approve any that would come to them, and close with them. I know they approved those who could not read twelve lines of English.

Westley.—All that they did I know not ; but I was examined touching gifts and graces.

Bishop.—I question not your gifts, Mr. Westley. I will do you any good I can ; but you will not long be suffered to preach, unless you do it according to order.

Westley.—I shall submit to any trial you shall please to make. I shall present your lordship with a confession of my faith ; or take what other way you please to insist on.

Bishop.—No. We are not come to that yet.

Westley.—I shall desire several things may be laid together which I look on as justifying my preaching. 1. I was devoted to the service from my infancy. 2. I was educated thereto, at school and in the University.

Bishop.—What University were you of ?

Westley.—Oxon.

Bishop.—What house ?

Westley.—New Inn Hall.

Bishop.—What age are you ?

Westley.—Twenty-five.

Bishop.—No, sure ; you are not !

Westley.—3. As a son of the prophets, after I had taken my degrees, I preached in the country ; being approved of by judicious able Christians, ministers, and others. 4. It pleased God to seal my labour with success, in the apparent conversion of several souls.

Bishop.—Yea ; that is, it may be, to your own way.

Westley.—Yea, to the power of godliness, from ignorance and profaneness. If it please your lordship to lay down any evidences of godliness agreeing with the Scriptures, and if they be not found in those persons intended, I am content to be discharged from my ministry. I will stand or fall by the issue thereof.

Bishop.—You talk of the power of godliness such as you fancy.

Westley.—Yea, the reality of religion. Let us appeal to any commonplace book for evidences of grace, and they are found in and upon these converts.

Bishop.—How many are there of them ?

Westley.—I number not the people.

Bishop.—Where are they ?

Westley.—Wherever I have been called to preach. At Radipole, Melcomb, Turnwood, Whitchurch, and at sea. I shall add another ingredient of my mission: 5. When the church saw the presence of God going along with

me, they did by fasting and prayer, in a day set apart for that end, seek an abundant blessing on my endeavours.

Bishop.—A particular church.

Westley.—Yes, my lord. I am not ashamed to own myself a member of one.

Bishop.—Why, you mistake the apostles' intent. They went about to convert heathens, and so did what they did. You have no warrant for your particuar churches.

Westley.—We have a plain, full, and sufficient rule for gospel worship in the New Testament, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles.

Bishop.—We have not.

Westley.—The practice of the apostles is a standing rule in those cases which were not extraordinary.

Bishop.—Not their practice, but their precepts.

Westley.—Both precepts and practice. Our duty is not delivered to us in Scripture only by precepts; but by precedents, by promises, by threatenings mixed; not common-place wise. We are to follow them, as they followed Christ.

Bishop.—But the apostle said, "This speak I, not the Lord;" that is, by revelation.

Westley.—Some interpret that place, "This speak I now by revelation from the Lord;" not the Lord in that text before instanced, when he gave answer to the case concerning divorce. May it please your lordship, we believe that "cultus non institutus est indebitus." (k)

Bishop.—It is false.

Westley.—The second commandment speaks the same, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image."

Bishop.—That is, forms of your own invention.

Westley.—Bishop Andrews, taking notice of "non facies tibi," (l) satisfied me that we may not worship God but as commanded.

Bishop.—You take discipline, church government, and circumstances for worship.

Westley.—You account ceremonies a part of worship.

Bishop.—But what say you? Did you not wear a sword in the time of the Committee of Safety, with Demy and the rest of them.

Westley.—My lord, I have given you my answer therein; and I farther say that I have conseientiously taken the oath of allegiance, and faithfully kept it hitherto. I appeal to all that are round about me.

Bishop.—But nobody will trust you. You stood it out to the last gasp.

Westley.—I know not what you mean by the last gasp. When I saw the pleasure of Providence to turn the order of things, I did submit quietly thereunto.

Bishop.—That was at last.

Westley.—Yet many such men are trusted, and now about the King.

Bishop.—They are such as, though on the Parliament side during the war, yet disown those latter proceedings; but you abode even till Haselrig's coming to Portsmouth.

(k) Worship not enjoined, is not binding.

(l) Thou shalt not make to thyself.

Westley.—His Majesty has pardoned whatever you may be informed of concerning me of that nature. I am not here on that account.

Bishop.—I expected you not.

Westley.—Your lordship sent your desire by two or three messengers. Had I been refractory, I need not have come; but I would give no just cause of offence. I think the old Nonconformists were none of his Majesty's enemies.

Bishop.—They were traitors. They began the war. Knox and Buchanan in Scotland, and those like them in England.

Westley.—I have read the protestation of owning the King's supremacy.

Bishop.—They did it in hypocrisy.

Westley.—You used to tax the poor Independents for judging folks' hearts. Who doth it now?

Bishop.—I do not, for they pretended one thing and acted another. Do not I know them better than *you*?

Westley.—I know them by their works, as they have therein delivered us their hearts.

Bishop.—Well then, you will justify your preaching, will you, without ordination according to the law?

Westley.—All these things laid together are satisfactory to me for my procedure therein.

Bishop.—They are not enough.

Westley.—There has been more written in proof of preaching of gifted persons, with such approbation, than has been answered by anyone yet.

Bishop.—Have you anything more to say to me, Mr. Westley?

Westley.—Nothing. Your lordship sent for me.

Bishop.—I am glad I heard this from your own mouth. You will stand to your principles, you say?

Westley.—I intend it, through the grace of God, and to be faithful to the King's Majesty, however you deal with me.

Bishop.—I will not meddle with you.

Westley.—Farewell to you, Sir.

Bishop.—Farewell, good Mr. Westley. (*m*)

Dr. Ironside, greatly to his honour as a Christian bishop, acted towards Mr. Westley in great kindness, and probably ever afterwards regarded him as "good Mr. Westley." As a fact, it may be mentioned that a century and a half afterwards this was not forgotten at Weymouth by a people who bear the name of the once accused, when an alleged descendant of the bishop's family was in distress. So strange and changing are the events of families and of human life!

In this conversation allusion is made to Sir Francis Fulford, Mr. Glisson, and Mr. Westley's cousin Pitfield, who either had given, or were willing to give, honourable report of the accused. The Pitfields held lands near Beaminster, and the sister of the bishop was their neighbour. Francis Glisson, M.D.,

was well known as a man of letters and science, a native of Rampisham, in Dorset; and Alice, the wife of Dr. Ironside, was a member of the Glisson family. Sir Francis Fulford, the hearer and friend of Mr. Westley, was also his neighbour; and in days when Puritan and evangelical ministers were objects of the world's scorn and contempt, he was not ashamed of one who had borne imprisonment, if not a chain, in the cause of truth and of God.

The men who had made dishonourable mention of Mr. Westley to Bishop Ironside, were Sir Gerrard Napper, Mr. Freak or Freke, and Mr. Tregonnel. The first-named was of More-Critchell, the second of Shroton, near Turnwood, the third of Middleton or Milton-Abbas; the whole were of Dorset, and zealous partizans of the new order of things. The Tregonnells were from Crantock, in Cornwall. Their ancestor was the King's proctor, when Henry sought to be divorced from Catherine; and verily he had his reward in the King's gift to him of the rich Middleton or Milton Abbey. In 1646, the Tregonnells were in some position which needed and obtained mercy from the Parliament. Vol. cclxxxiv. of the valuable collection of pamphlets in the British Museum says, that—

Munday, November 2, 1646, special pardon, sealed by the Right Honorable the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, for John Tregonnel, Esq., of Anderson, in the county of Dorset; and Thomas Tregonnel, of Abbots-Court, in the county of Dorset. (*n*)

Mr. Westley left Bishop Ironside in terms and temper honourable to the both, and returned to his family uninjured. But persons of station in his neighbourhood continued to give him trouble, and would not allow him in peace to serve and bless his people the short time which remained, ere the dark Bartholomew-day came, which would silence and sever him from Whitchurch for ever. In the beginning of 1662, when coming out of church, Mr. Westley was seized, taken to Blandford, and again committed to prison. After he had been some time confined, Sir Gerrard Napper—his most violent opposer, and the most forward to commit him—fell and broke his collar-bone. This occurrence appears to have led to thought and to relenting, on account of his harsh dealing with a good man; and also to send some persons to

(*n*) See Hutchins' Dorset, Names, Index; Davies G. Gilbert's Cornwall, Crantock.

bail Mr. Westley ; should they refuse he said he would do it himself. In this way the imprisoned was set at liberty, though bound to appear before the judges at the next assizes.

Many things connected with his arraignment Mr. Westley recorded in his diary with great thankfulness ; as the becoming temper of the judge, the many friends raised up for his help, and the unexpected assistance of a solicitor who pleaded for him. The following is an extract from this diary, as it is given by Dr Calamy :—

Clerk.—Call Mr. Westley, of Whitchurch.

Westley.—Here.

Clerk.—You were indicted for not reading the Common Prayer. Will you traverse it?

A Solicitor.—May it please your lordship, we desire this business may be deferred till next assizes.

Judge.—Why till then ?

Solicitor.—Our witnessess are not ready at present.

Judge.—Why not ready now ? Why have you not prepared for a trial ?

Solicitor.—We thought our prosecutors would not appear.

Judge.—Why so, young man ? Why should you think so ? Why did you not provide them ?

Westley.—May it please your lordship, I understand not the question.

Judge.—Why will you not read the Book of Common Prayer ?

Westley.—The book was never tendered to me.

Judge.—Must the book be tendered to you ?

Westley.—So I conceive by the Act.

Judge.—Are you ordained ?

Westley.—I am ordained to preach the gospel.

Judge.—By whom ?

Westley.—I have order to preach.

Judge.—From whom ?

Westley.—I have given an account thereof already to the bishop.

Judge.—What bishop ?

Westley.—The bishop of Bristol.

Judge.—I say, by whom were you ordained ? How long is it since ?

Westley.—Four or five years since.

Judge.—By whom then ?

Westley.—By those who were then empowered.

Judge.—I thought so. Have you a presentation to your place ?

Westley.—I have.

Judge.—From whom ?

Westley.—May it please your lordship, it is a legal presentation.

Judge.—By whom was it ?

Westley.—By the trustees.

Judge.—Have you brought it ?

Westley.—I have not.

Judge.—Why not ?

Westley.—Because I did not think I should be asked any such questions here.

Judge.—I would wish you to read the Common Prayer at your peril. You will not say, "From all sedition and privy conspiracy ; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism,—Good Lord, deliver us !"

Clerk.—Call Mr. Meech : [he was called and appeared.] Does Mr. Westley read the Common Prayer yet ?

Meech.—May it please your lordship, he never did, nor he never will.

Judge.—Friend, how do you know that ? He may bethink himself.

Meech. He never did ; he never will.

Solicitor.—We will, when we see the new book, either read it, or leave our place at Bartholomew-tide.

Judge.—Are you not bound to read the old book till then ? Let us see the Act. [And, reading it to himself, another cause was called.] (o)

When the judge asked Mr. Westley, "Why will you not read the Book of Common Prayer ?" Mr. Westley replied, "The book was never tendered me." In fact, the ministers at this time neither knew nor could have known with certainty what they were to approve and to read. When the members of the Savoy Conference could not agree on some alterations and emendations proposed to be made, the King's letter of November 21, 1661, authorized the Convocation to make such changes or additions as it might be supposed the old Book of Prayer required. These alterations were not complete until a few days before the sad Bartholomew came ; and, though it was known that many clergymen could not have seen the book, nor correctly have known its contents, yet—as if written, "all ye who enter here leave thought behind"—they must have declared and have signed the following declaration before, or on, the 24th of August, or be ejected from their churches and livings :—

I do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled the Book of Common Prayer.

Tracts of the day asserted that a great part of those who signed the above must have done so in the dark, as not one in forty could have seen the fully amended book ; and to be ejected for not declaring their assent to what was to them unknown they declared was great injustice. It is probable that the book was not examined and attested to be, as a printed book, true and genuine, as the law required, until several months after the ejection. The following has been given, with the date, names, &c., of the examiners :—

(o) Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., pp. 445, 447 ; Dr. Calamy's Continuation, vol. i., pp. 446, 447.

Wee whose names are here underwritten, commissioners amongst others appointed by our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Fayth, &c., by his Highnes Letters Patents under the Great Seale of England, bearing date the first day of November, in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, in pursuance of a certaine Act made in the Parliament begun and held at Westminster, the eighth day of May, in the thirteenth yeare of the reigne of our said Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, and there continued untill the nineteenth day of May, in the fourteenth yeare of his said Majesties reigne, and thence prorogued to the eighteenth of February then next following, intituled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies, and for establishing the Forme of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Church of England," doe certify that wee have examined and compared this booke with the originall, and wee find it a true and perfect copy. In witness whereof wee have heerunto set our hands and seals this thirteenth day of December, in fourteenth yeare of the reigne of our said Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, and in the yeare of our Lord Christ, one thousand six hundred sixty and two.

JOS. HENSHAW, Dec. Cicestr.
MARK FRANCK, Archd. S. Alb.
RICH. CHAWORTH.

GEO. STRADLING.
WILL. BRABOURNE.
JO. PRITHETT. (p)

To a weeping congregation, August 17, 1662, Mr. Westley preached his farewell sermon, from Acts xx. 32; and in the church of Whitechurch his ministry as vicar was heard no more. The next Christian Sabbath was a day of darkness and of anguish. The demon of persecution had become enthroned and in triumph. Two thousand most able ministers of Christ, and who were among the brightest lights of the land, were cast from their Lord's heritage; and, as far as men could do it, put out and quenched. They were not only driven from the Church, but the most of them and their families were left to the ills of poverty, and to other sufferings difficult to be borne. The ministers sequestered some years before were not abandoned to such a state of entire destitution, but had one-fifth value of their livings allowed them for their support; yet no kindness of this sort was shown to the Nonconformist ministers. The purpose was to consign these injured men to obscurity and to oblivion, that, as the dead, they might be unknown and forgotten; but this signally failed. In their loneliness, some of these noble-minded clergymen erected

(p) Rapin, vol. ii., pp. 624, 629; Dr. Short's Church History, pp. 482, 484, 489, 546; Stuart Dynasty, vol. ii., pp. 312, 313; Peirce's Vindication, p. 231; Robinson's Answer to Bennet on Prayer, pp. 400, 403.

monuments to their own piety and worth more durable than brass; and by their widely-diffused and highly-valued printed works have so made their mind and character known, and the spirit of their adversaries also, that, as some one has said, had their persecutors known what would be the result of their unjust measures, they would probably not have forced on the ejected the leisure to write what has been, and continues to be, memorials of themselves of greatly-esteemed value. "Surely, the wrath of man shall praise Thee: the remainder of wrath shalt Thou restrain."

Fidelity and truth have led clergymen of the Church of England and others to notice the great wrong intended to be done to the ejected ministers by selecting the day for casting them out when the tithes became due, as if the direct purpose was to add destitution to injustice; but the people of Whitchurch, to rebuke such harsh unrighteous purposes, and to declare how highly they esteemed their injured vicar, paid Mr. Westley the whole which they believed to belong to him; so that when, on the 26th of the following October, an apparitor declared the place vacant, and ordered the profits to be sequestered, it was found there were none to sequester. "The day chosen that the ejected clergy might lose the tithes for the year, was a severity which can admit of no excuse." (q)

To divert the attention of the people from those severities, or to attempt, if possible, to palliate them, the chief actors and their friends endeavoured so to influence and direct public opinion that its tide might force whatever bore the hated and dreaded name of Puritanism to abhorrence and destruction. To this end almost all means that could be employed were pressed for service—not only power in high places, but the pulpit also; the stage; buffoonery and low wit of a certain class of poetry, to burlesque the devout, to caricature the good, to make religion and some of the best men of the land contemptible. Persons who read those productions are advised by a living writer "by no means to credit the wide-spread report that the seventeenth century Puritans were superstitious, crack-brained persons, given up to enthusiasm; or skilful Machiavels, to dupe others. This is a wide-spread report, but an untrue one." (r)

(q) Dr. Short's History of the Church, &c., p. 513.

(r) Cromwell's Letters, &c., by Carlyle, vol. i., p. 62.

The consequences of those measures in the Church and nation were dark and fearful; a withering influence came, and long continued to abide on the both, as if the life-giving spirit had gone up and left the hallowed places from which devout men had been cast out and driven. From the court downward, the tide of profanity and vice rolled its polluted waves to the extremities of the land. In the least possible avowal of piety, the perfection of religion was supposed to be found; and not only were some of its best forms laid aside, but duties of morality also. To be present twice on the Lord's-day at public worship, and to employ the evening in family instruction and devotion, was the sure way to reproach and the hated name of Puritanism. To give the character of the age, the words of ancient poetry have been selected.

Strait with a sudden and resistless rage,
A flood of vice o'erwhelms the coming age;
Truth's vanish'd from the vile degenerate race,
While heavenly faith deserts the unhappy place,
And modest virtue hides her hated face. }
Instead of those the infernal lake supplies
Infernal frauds, and fills the land with lies:
Rapine and endless avarice succeeds,
And vanquish'd by her foes, sincere religion bleeds. (s)

Up to the 26th of October, 1662, when the apparitor declared Whitchurch to be ecclesiastically vacant, Mr. Westley, perhaps, remained in his accustomed abode. In addition to other sorrows, were those felt for his good wife in her advanced state of pregnancy; and if it had the power to do so, inhumanity itself might have shrunk from turning a good man, his babes, and wife, in her then state, on the world, houseless and homeless. The child was born towards the conclusion of the year, and baptized by the father, December 17th, 1662. The elder children were baptized by John Wesly, *vicar*; but in the register of Samuel's baptism, the word *vicar* is not found. The Act of Uniformity had made John Westley a Nonconformist.

On account of her late confinement, Mrs. Westley could not be removed from Whitchurch until February, 1663. As Mr. Westley had resided at Weymouth, and was known to many of its inhabitants, he gave notice, either to some of his friends, or to the municipal authorities of the town, of his intention to make it again the place of his abode. By the valuable record

(s) Peirce's Vindication, &c., pp. 222, 231, 232.

of Dr. Calamy, we are told that Mr. Westley and family left Whitchurch, the 22nd of February, for Weymouth; that the corporation made an order against his settlement there, imposed a fine of twenty pounds on his landlady, and five shillings a week on himself, to be levied by distress. This severe measure led Mr. Westley to wait on the mayor, to plead his former residence, that he was not an unknown stranger, and offered to give what security the order required. But this was of no avail, and on the 11th of March, another order was given to put the former in execution. By these violent proceedings, smitten-hearted, he was driven from the town. As a homeless fugitive, he visited Bridgewater, Ilminster, and Taunton; in each of these places he was received by the *three* denominations of Dissenters as a friend; and who afterwards were very kind to him and to his numerous family. The report of this Weymouth inhospitality soon became known to some kind gentleman (whose name these pages gladly would, but cannot, record), who had a very good house at Preston, a village three miles east of Weymouth, and in which he gave Mr. Westley liberty to dwell without the payment of any rent. To this house, the beginning of May, 1663, Mr. Westley and family removed; and except when driven by the Five Mile Act, it was their home, and for himself, as he could venture by stealth to return to it, as long as he lived. The merciful Providence which gave him this home had its record in his diary, and with wonder and thankfulness he noticed (1) that he who had forfeited all the mercies of life should have any habitation at all; that (2) when other precious saints were utterly destitute; and (3), that he should have such an house of abode when others had only poor mean cottages. (*t*)

As "afterwards," that is, from the time of his shelter at Bridgewater, Ilminster, and Taunton, Mr. Westley had a "numerous family," to whom friends in those towns were "very kind;" several children of this numerous family must have been born at Preston. Hutchins, the historian of Dorset, and other writers of that age, say that Samuel, afterwards of Epworth, was born at Preston, 1666; and as the name of Matthew, the surgeon, does not appear on the Whitchurch register, was not Preston the probable place of his birth also?

(*t*) Dr. Calamy's Continuation, vol. i., p. 448; Historical Account, vol. i., p. 459.

Matthew died, June 10th, 1737. If other children of John Westley, of Preston, lived to have families, they, in comparative retirement and shelter, escaped the notoriety which on many accounts attended Samuel. Whether of the family or not, Dissenters very respectable in life, both in Dorset and Watford—the former abode of Dr. Cornelius Burgess, the uncle of Mr. John Westley—had names not greatly dissimilar to one so differently written.

WATFORD.

Vicars.—Cornelius Burgess, M.A. ; instituted 21st December, 1618. Dr. Burgess was ejected from St. Andrew's, Wells, Somerset, but died at Watford, 1665. (*u*)

Entries made by Mr. Westley in his diary, which Dr. Calamy copied and published, have much countenance from borough records and state documents, long concealed from public notice. By the kindness of a late chief magistrate of Weymouth, the writer is enabled to give the following extracts from old records of that borough.

Mr. Westley sent notice to Weymouth that he intended to reside in that town, and on the 22nd of February, 1663, removed from Whitechurch for that town; and on the 17th of February, 1663, five days before Mr. Westley's arrival, the Corporation met, the *first time* in that year, when the order was probably made to prevent his abode there.

17 february, 1663.—Some one is mentioned of the name of *John*, in connection with the peace of the borough or county.

Two days after the arrival of Mr. Westley, the Corporation met again—"Mr. Maior Yardley, and Mr. Bailiff Clatworthy, 24th february, 1663." The latter, it will be seen, was placed in the Corporation at the will of Sir Gerrard Napper, Banks, and others of their stamp.

The Corporation met the *third time*, March 1, 1663,¹ and an entry in the records, says, "*quod jokes ad XX pace. Com. Dorsett.*" Soon after a widow was presented at the sessions, on what account is not distinctly read; but before this time, notice was taken of some one, "*quia non negavit virum intr domum suam*;" and "at a Hall held on ffryday, the XXVI of August, 1664, the ffyne set on Joan Baily, widow, in Weymouth,

(*u*) Clutterbuck's History of Herts, vol. i., p. 256; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. ii., p. 587; Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i., p. 117; Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley, vol. i., pp. 102, 103; Gentleman's Magazine, April and June, 1737; "Sylvius," Mrs. Wright.

late of XXX£ for a comon nusante by her there committed, is reduced to three pounds ffyne."

It will not be asserted that the *John* mentioned was John Westley; the name is very indistinct, but it appears to terminate in either *ry* or *ley*; neither that the *widow* presented for not having denied admittance to some one to her house, nor that Joan Baily, widow, on whom the fine of twenty pounds for a common nuisance, was the widow and landlady on whom the fine of twenty pounds was imposed on Mr. Westley's account. But these dates, incidents, the Major Dewy, or Dewey (Demy in Dr. Calamy's report), long hidden records, the reports of Hutchins, the Dorset historian, and others, are in many things in singular accordance with the statements of Mr. Westley, as given by Dr. Calamy.

In the following entry may be seen the service and work the "Act for Regulating Corporations" (page 31) was made to do, not only at Weymouth, but in other corporations, at the will of commissioners; and others:—

Dorstt., Waymouth & Melcombe-regis.

By the Comee: appointed for the well governing and regulating of Corporations, assembled at Waymouth and Melcombe-regis, in the said County, the thirteenth day of October, 1662.

Wheras we find upon examination, that James Gearc, Gent.; Alexr. Clatworthy, Gent.; Richard Harrison, Gent.; Henry Rose, Gent.; ffabian Hodder, Gent.; and John Hodder, were heretofore illegally or unduly removed out of their places of Aldermen and Burgesses of the said Borough; & that Samuel Cooke, Will. Bond, Stephen Abbott, John Senior, George Pley, & John Arthur, were illegally put into their said offices.—Wee doe deeme it expedient for the publique safety, that the said Samuel Cooke, &c., be displaced and removed from their said respective offices and places of Aldermen and Burgesses of the said Borough, and by this our order, under our hands and seales, we doe displace and remove the said Samuel Cooke, &c., from their said office and places, and doe likewise by this our order, under our hands and seales, restore the said James Gearc, Alexr. Clatworthy, Richd. Harrison, Henry Rose, ffabian Hodder, and John Hodder, &c.

Signed by GER: NAPPER, R. BANKS, and seven other magistrates.

At the same time, an order was made by Sir Gerrard Napper, R. Banks, and others, to remove "for the public safety," John Eyres from the office of burgess; Henry Waltham, merchant, and five others, were displaced because they refused to take the following oath:—

I doe declare that there lyes noe obligation upon mee, or on any other pson, from ye oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant

and that the same was in itself an unlawfull oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom.

With these changes before us, and the recollection that persons approved by Sir Gerrard Napper, &c., were called to fill the places of the aldermen and burgesses, we may at once see the cause why Mr. Westley, who, but a few short years before, was so much respected in Weymouth, should, when driven from his church and parish, be refused by friends of Sir Gerrard Napper, &c., even a lodging in this town; and why the Corporation, as it had become, made an order against his residing there.

The Act of Uniformity, in August, 1662, ejected the Non-conformist clergymen. The Conventicle Act of 1664 made worship a crime in any house where more than five persons of fifteen years of age, and upwards, in addition to the family, should be found assembled. (Page 32.)

Though excluded from the churches of the Establishment, and not allowed in them to fulfil his ministry, yet, obedience to his Lord, and affectionate regard to the welfare of his neighbours, led Mr. Westley to attempt to be useful where and as he could. We are told that he preached frequently, not only to a few good people at Preston, but, as he had opportunity, at Weymouth, and places in the vicinity. But after 1664 every such attempt, where five persons more than the family were present, must have exposed him to the severities of the Conventicle Act. The borough records declare how this operated at Weymouth, and may be taken as a sample of things done elsewhere.

Dorst., Weymouth and Melcombe-regis.

Bee it remembered that on the ninth day of July, Anno Dmi. 1665, Matthew Pitt, James Budd, Barthw. Beere, Robert Dun, Henry Dunbar, Robert Roberts, Thos. Woodrow, John Owner the elder, John Tucker, and Thomas Randall, all of Melcombe-regis aforesaid; and William Markett, of Broadmayne, being all of them of the age of fifteen years and upwards, were present at an assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colr. or pretence of some servisse of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England, in the dwelling-house of Henry Saunders, within the incorporation aforesaid, mariner, where there were more than the before-named persons assembled together, over and above those of the same household, contrary to an Act of Parliament, intituled an "Act to prevent Seditious Conventicles," of which said conventicle they were all convicted; witness the hands and seales of

THEO. BYETT, Maior.
 RICHD. SCOVILL, and } Bailiffs.
 CHRISTR. COLLIER, }

On the 16th of July, 1665, "Dorothy White, spinster; Erasmus Browne, John Sadler, Humfry Bennett, Benjamin Slowman, and Dorothy Saunders, the wife of Henry Saunders, mariner, all of Waymouth and Melcombe Regis, were convicted of holding a conventicle at the house of Henry Saunders;" and which conviction is given at length, in the form above, and before the same mayor and bailiffs.

On the 3rd day of June, 1666, Elizth. Cross, of Melcombe Regis, and thirty-five others (v) were, on the oaths of Jonathan Edwards and Henry Brettyent, convicted of being at a conventicle in the house of Henry Saunders, mariner, of Melcombe Regis; some of whom were fined, and others imprisoned: some for six weeks, and others for three months and a day, in the town gaol, by order of "Benjamin Gaitch, Maior, and Nath. Abbott, Bailiff."

These were the days, events, and dangers of the elder Westleys. Of Bartholomew it is to be lamented that so little is preserved. By the care of Dr. Calamy, we contemplate John, of Whitechurch, as a Christian of prudence and moderation. As

(v) These names were once branded with infamy. The writer contemplates them in no other character than that of *conscientious suffering Christians*. As such, as far as he can contribute to it, they shall be handed down to posterity with honour, especially as the fellow-worshippers with *John Westley*; for such they no doubt were. Their meetings appear always to have been held "in the dwelling-house of *Henry Saunders*, and *Dorothy*, his wife."

"Elzth. Crosse, Katherine Barker, Henry Dumberfield, James Budd, Elizth. Randall, Katherine Wall, Elizth. ffoye, Rebecca Senior, Matthew Pitt, Alice Locke, John Chines, Katherine Batchelor, Mary Chines, Alice Roberts, Edith Woodrow, frances Markett, Hugh Piercy, Dorothy Saunders, Sarah Harvey, Martha Maker, Edward Tucker, John Wilson, Richd. Harvest, Erasmus Browne, John Owner, Richard Tucker, francis Dumberfield, of Cerne, Mary Roberts, Hannah Bower, of Dorchester, Hester Stowill, Hannah Senior, P. Kinglake, Susannah Senior, Sarah Wilson, Jane Hammill, and Dorothy King.

"We have committed to the town gaol, there to remaine by the space of as followeth; that is to say, the said Matthew Pitt, James Budd, Henry Dumberfield, and Dorothy Saunders, by the space of three months and one day next ensuing, it being the second offence of which they stand convicted. And the aforesaid John Owner and Mary Roberts, by the space of six weeks and one day next ensuing; itt being the first offence of which they stand convicted. Those who paid the ffynes we have discharged.

"Witnesse our handes and seales, this sixth day of June, 1666.

"BENJAMIN GAITCH, Maior.

"NATH. ABBOTT, Bailiff."

there were several things in the Liturgy, the correctness of which he doubted, he at first hesitated, and was troubled in his mind whether he ought to worship in the Established Church; but by attentively considering some arguments given by Mr. Nye on that subject, his scruples were removed, and like many others of his excellent brethren, he became an occasional conformist. It is refreshing to find, that in those days, *some* writers on the other side could appreciate the piety and worth of such men. In a "Friendly Debate," by Dr. Patrick, first published in 1669, the author says:—

There are some of your ministers of a humble spirit, quiet and peaceable in the land, desiring unity and concord, grieving for the breach of it; and are so far from condemning those that are satisfied to do what the law requires, that they are sorry they cannot contribute to the common peace by doing the same. Upon which account they go as far as they can, and conform to publick order in all things wherein they are satisfied, and are tender of breaking laws: these we cannot but love.

Such was Mr. Westley. His religious opinions were fixed; yet he was neither a violent Sectarian, nor a furious zealot. That he might honour the worship of God, and hold communion with the good, from whom in only minor matters he differed, he, like his fellow collegian, John Howe, was an occasional conformist. His principles were firm, they were tested by sufferings; but on matters of opinion his charity was greater. His mind was not of that caste which differs from others for the sake of doing so: much less for the mere vaunt of liberty. In reference to this, a learned, pious, and conscientious Episcopalian sufferer wrote:

For pleasure, I profess my sense so far from doting on that popular idol, liberty, that I hardly think it possible for any kind of obedience to be more painful than an unrestrained liberty; were there not some bounds of magistrate, of laws, of piety, of reason in the heart, every man would have a fool, they say—I add, a mad tyrant—to his master; that would multiply him more sorrows than the briars and thorns did *Adam*, when he was freed from the bliss at once and the restraint of Paradise, and was sure greater slave in the wilderness, than in the enclosure. Would but the Scripture permit me that kind of idolatry, the binding my faith and obedience to any one visible infallible judge or prince, were it the *Pope*, the *Mufli*, or the *Grand Tartar*, might it be reconcileable with my creed, it would be certainly with my interest to get presently into that posture of obedience. I should learn so much of the barbarian ambassadors in *Appian*, which came on purpose to the Romans to negotiate for leave to be their servants. It would be my policy, if not my piety, and may now be my wish, though not my faith, that I might never have the trouble to

deliberate, to dispute, to doubt, to choose (those so many profitless uneasinesses), but only the favour to receive commands, and the meekness to obey them. (*w*)

Though devoutly thankful for a good house at Preston, yet the state of things which prevailed led Mr. Westley to much thought and perplexity, whether he ought not to follow the many good men who had sought a refuge and liberty of worship in the wilds of America, in Maryland, or Surinam. But after much consideration and advice, he determined to abide in the land of his nativity, and therein to take his lot; and when called by a number of serious Christians at Poole, in Dorset, to become their pastor, he accepted the invitation, and continued in that relation with them until his death.

But the oath required by the Five Mile Act (page 33) Mr. Westley could not take, and his integrity would not allow him, in his own words, "to swear in my own private sense, which would be but juggling with God and the King." As Preston is but three miles from Weymouth, this Act forced him from his people, his family, and his home; yet wherever he went and could find an auditory, he preached to the people. After he had been in comparative concealment for some time, he ventured to return home, and to labour among his own people; yet this must have been done at great risk. But notwithstanding all his prudence in managing his meetings, Mr. Westley was often disturbed, several times apprehended, and several times imprisoned—thrice at Dorchester, and once at Poole for six months—in many straits and difficulties, yet greatly supported and comforted.

Sorrow was the portion of a great number of the best men of the land; and without presuming to unfold the mysteries of the Divine government, it may be said, on the heads of many of those who were the causes of this distress accumulated sorrows at length were heaped. Clarendon was the great promoter of the Acts passed soon after the Restoration, which so greatly distressed the Nonconformists and their ministers; and soon after, trouble, disgrace, and banishment, became the lot of this distinguished man. In the year 1667, Clarendon was impeached, fled to France, and died at Rouen, December 7, 1674. To Mr. Baxter it appeared as a remarkable providence that he who had been the great instrument of state,

(*w*) Dr. Hammond's Works, fol. ed. 1684, vol. iv., p. 481.

and the cause of almost all which fell so severely on the Nonconformists, should, by his own friends, be cast out and rejected; and that he who did so much to promote the Oxford, or Five Mile Act, for *banishing* ministers from corporations, should, when *banished* himself, in a letter from his retirement in France, say, that his credit had been little at Court since the Parliament which was held at *Oxford*. (x)

The Court continued to pursue its violent measures, and the men in power left no means unemployed to make the reign of terror and profanity secure; yet they appear to have had doubts whether in every place the inferior magistracy and the corporations faithfully responded to their will. Suspicions seem to have haunted them, that good men of other days were, in some places, too much abroad; that they were not so driven to, and kept in complete obscurity, that their light and influence should be entirely destroyed.

“From ye Courte at Whitehall, ye 28th of September, 1668,” an order was sent to the Corporation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which begun thus:—

After our hearty commendations, his matie having received frequent information from severall parts of this kingdom, that divers persons formerly displaced by the courts authorized for regulating corporations in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, and others doe without taking the oath and declaration appoynted by the statute of the 13th of his matie's reign, endeavour to be elected and re-admitted into the severall offices of Maior, Bailiffs, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Town Clerke, and other offices in the corporations, cities, and boroughs of this kingdom, with design, as may be justly apprehended, to disturb the peace and happiness of his matie's government; his matie therefore hath commanded us to pray, and require you to signify his pleasure unto the Maior, Bailiffs, and Aldermen, and other officers of all and every citye, and town corporate within the county of Dorset, that they doe not henceforward admit any person or persons into any office whatever in any of their corporations, but according to the rules prescribed in the Act of Parliament, and for not doubting of your care therein, we bid you heartily farewell:—from the court of Whitehall, ye 28th Sept., 1668. Your loving friend,

GILBERT CANTR., &c., &c.

On the 6th of November, 1668, another communication was made from Whitehall, to the mayor, aldermen, and bailiffs of Weymouth, for the purpose of knowing whether any person had been admitted to office in the Corporation, without taking the oaths prescribed, and which thus concluded:—

(x) Rapin, vol. ii., p. 469; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., p. 316; Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, pp. 290, 293, 303, 334.

I expect a speedy account from you, with the names of such persons. I rest, for his matie, your very loving friend,

RICHMOND and LENNOX.

The truth appears to be this: the valuable ministers of the west, had made such an impression on the public mind, that their friends were not disposed hastily to abandon either their religious principles or their good advocates. That they, and those who espoused their cause, were of some note and influence is evident from the care with which they were watched, lest by any means they should obtain any power. To prevent this, and to oppress the oppressed, as the Conventicle Act of 1664 had expired, in 1670 another was substituted, which in some particulars was more severe than the first. When this had passed, a letter was written by Sheldon (Gilbert Cantr.) to the bishops of his province, a copy of which may be found in "Baxter's Life," to remind his brethren of the "pious care of the Parliament for the welfare of the Church and the Kingdom, in the late Act for preventing and suppressing conventicles, and to say that it becomes us, the bishops, to endeavour as much as in us lies to promote so blessed a work, &c." (y)

Whether the severities of this second Conventicle Act, and the zeal of Sheldon to make it sweep all conventicles away, affected Mr. Westley in his relation to his church—probably Congregational—at Poole, we know not; at some period he suffered six months' imprisonment in that town. From the record of Dr. Calamy, it appears probable that about, or soon after 1670, death removed him from the world of sorrows.

The death of many eminent Christians who had been his intimate acquaintance and kind friends; the great decay of serious religion among many professors, and the increasing rage of the enemies of real godliness, seized and sunk his spirits; and, having filled up his part of what is behind of the afflictions of Christ in His flesh, for His body's sake, which is the Church, and finished the work given him to do, Mr. Westley was taken out of this vale of tears to that world "where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest."

To the withering influence of cherished profanity, and the decay of piety, John Howe, in his funeral sermon for Dr. Bates, A.D. 1699, refers in the following solemn words:—

(y) Rapin, vol. ii., p. 655; Baxter's Life, &c., vol. i., p. 328; Dr. Short, p. 517.

" I must tell you freely my apprehensions, which I have often hinted, that I fear it must die first—I mean a temporary death: I fear it, for it hath long been gradually dying already; and spiritual diseases which have this tendency are both sinful and penal. Serious piety and Christianity languishes everywhere. Many that have a name to live are dead, and putrified, &c. Common justice and righteousness are fled from among us. Sincerely good and pious men die away, in the natural sense, apace. Though serious religion should seem generally to have expired, let us believe it shall revive, when our confidence and vain boasts cease. The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord! Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ: and one sort ceases to magnify this church, and another that, and an universal death is come upon us, then (and I am afraid not till then) is to be expected a glorious resurrection, not of this or that party—for living powerful religion, when it recovers, will disdain the limits of a party. Nor is it to be thought that religion, modified by the devised distinctions of this or that party, will ever be the religion of the world. But the same power that makes us return to a state of life will bring us into a state of unity in divine light and love. Then will all the scandalous marks and means of division among Christians vanish, and nothing remain as a test and boundary of Christian communion but what hath its foundation as such in plain reason, or express revelation. Then, as there is one body and one spirit, will that Almighty Spirit so animate and form this body as to make it everywhere amiable, self-recommending, and capable of spreading and propagating itself, as to increase with the increase of God. Then shall the Lord be one, and His name one, in all the earth. (z)

This great and good man, not only correctly delineated his own times, but, with something like prophetic accuracy, spake of those which should come. In part, at least, have not his words been fulfilled? From the last century a mighty agency has been in operation; and "He who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will, and unto whom be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end," has caused a blessed change in the Church. The Established Church, in a large degree, has graciously arisen as from death. The mantle of the Nonconformists has, in part at least, mercifully fallen on their children. Independents and Baptists abide; and from the old Presbyterians, shattered and broken a century and-a-half since by Exeter disturbances, Whitfield and others gathered many disciples and churches. As to the masses, for whose souls no man appeared properly to care, who can rightly estimate the value and importance of the labours of the late Rev. John Wesley, and his helpers? In this blessed change and renewed life, whether in the

(z) Works of John Howe, fol., vol. ii., pp. 458, 459; Dr. Bates' Works, fol., pp. 891, 892.

Establishment, or beyond its pale, do not all who bear the Christian name aright adoringly rejoice? "Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice; yea, and will rejoice." And, if it please Divine mercy, may the time soon come when strifes, and especially bitter strifes, among brethren shall cease in the Church, and war no longer distress the world; when, at the least, in pure affection, the prayer of the glorious Head of the Church shall be accomplished—"That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee."

Ere these notices conclude young persons will be again reminded that the events and changes of the seventeenth century are in history a very important part of the annals of our country, which should not be allowed to pass from the memory, but remain as worthy of deep attention and prayerful consideration. There are strange indications in the times in which we live, as if pregnant and travailing together to give birth to something mighty, either for good or for evil. May these teach us the importance of watchfulness and prayer, lead to decision of character, and to the intelligent and legitimate use of whatever influence we possess for the diffusion of Divine truth, and for the support of constitutional, tolerant, and Christianly directed government. Government there must be; when rightly administered, all history proclaims its value, and the Bible declares it to be of God. One of the greatest blessings that Heaven can bestow on nations and on men, is such good government, which it is not merely the duty, but the interest also, of all to support. Persons who, under the specious name of liberty, and reckless of consequences, would destroy all Christian rule and authority, if allowed by the righteous displeasure of God against ungrateful and wicked nations to succeed, generally become the veriest, the most cruel, among tyrants. Their general object is to demolish, that, as passion, rapine, or murder, may lead the way, they may grasp all they can. Such men, and the desolation they bring, usually lead to a military despotism; truth, piety, and whatever adorns the human mind, are arrested in their progress, and all that is valuable is in danger of being lost. As to the abuse of power, let that be carefully guarded; it is in human nature, whether in the palace, at the loom, or in the cottage, to do this. May we never hasten nor see the times when high and unbending notions of authority shall prevail, whether in Church or in State. The present is not the period

to endure them, nor can such plans be adopted without extreme danger. Very likely in this age, as well as in those that are gone, there may be men who would concede nothing, correct no abuses ; but by either intolerant, exclusive priestism, political Protestantism, or extreme measures in other directions, attempt to force their purposes, and exclude or drive all moderate men from their councils. The time may come, when such will be called for in vain ; "My Lord," said James, in his trouble, to the Duke of Bedford, "you are a good man, and have a great influence ; you can do much for me at this time." To which the Duke replied, "I am an old man, and can do but little ;" then added, with a deep sigh, "I had once a son that could now have been very serviceable to your Majesty." Such extremes will assuredly defeat their object, eventually lead to what they have led before—the violent breaking up of old institutions ; and for want of a little concession, impel the high and the low over a cataract, while they might have descended as by locks. Let the acts of persons who rule be closely scrutinized, and jealously watched ; it is the privilege of British subjects to do so. Still, let not those who hold the reins of authority be put, merely *because they are in office*, beyond that pale in which the *common charity and candour* of men are to be exercised ; nor regarded as if *they only* must not think for themselves, and act, not irresponsibly, but as it appears to them to be the best. If those who have the *cares* as well as the honour of government are to be harassed by unprincipled, bitter, and base opposition—if, to give to envy its poisoned delight, and to mortified disappointment its only miserable indulgence, men in power are to be assailed by all that can annoy them personally, and by every sort of machination that can defeat their constitutional and honourably directed measures—who in this case will be placed in such important situations, but those, who, because of their incompetency would grasp the reins, and, like the fabled charioteer, drive all to destruction.

The leading men of the seventeenth century, when forced, as they supposed, to unhappy conflict, had no purposes to effect such changes as arose out of the civil war. Clarendon himself acknowledges that the major part of the Long Parliament consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom. The Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general, was an Episcopalian ; the admiral who seized the King's ships, and

employed them against him, was the same. Sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull, was a Churchman, and the same may be said of Sir Henry Vane, senior, of Lentham, the Speaker, and most of the other leading persons in the Parliament. Lord Northumberland told Sir John Bankes that Parliament was arrayed against the King because of the peril of losing that liberty which Englishmen ought to enjoy, and the laws of the land allow. Lord Wharton declared, "I seriously profess, and dare not, in my most private thoughts, suspect or charge any of the Parliament for having disloyal hearts to His Majesty, or turbulent hearts to the state." Denzil Holles, Lord Say and Seale, Lord Essex, and others, virtually declared the same facts, and lamented the strifes of the day. To leading men, religion was a great fact, and Christianity an undoubted, solemn, and blessed reality, which no power of man could subdue or destroy. Long were Puritans and Nonconformists objects of the world's scorn, but Milton, as if in more than poetic vision, declared, "There will one day be a resurrection of names, as well as bodies." To this a living writer, in whose estimation the Puritans are more noble than heroes, has greatly contributed; and by whom we are "advised not to imagine that it was constitution, liberty of the people to tax themselves, privilege of Parliament, triennial or annual, or any modification of these sublime privileges now waxing somewhat faint in our admiration, that mainly animated leading men of the Puritan age. But a far other, deeper, which could not be measured, of which these, and all grand social improvements, are the corollary. The Puritans were, as all reformers that will ever much benefit this earth are, always, inspired by a heavenly purpose. To see God's own law, then universally acknowledged for complete as it stood in the holy written book, made good in this world; to see this, or the true unwearied aim and struggle towards this, it was a thing worth living for, and dying for! Eternal justice; that God's will *be* done on earth as it is in heaven."

"But Puritanism is of the seventeenth century, not of the nineteenth. The dumpy little quartos stand here bodily before us: by human volition they can be read, but not by human memory remembered. We forget them as soon as read, and they have (too largely) become a weariness to the soul of man. The age of the Puritans is gone away from us. Its earnest purport awakens now no resonance in our frivolous hearts. It

is not understood by one in a thousand. It seems delirious and delusive; not the body of heroic Puritanism only, but the soul of it also, which was, and should have been, and yet shall be, immortal.”^(a)

Though lately, important changes as to living spiritual Christianity have taken place, yet much remains to be done. In some places, dark tendencies—planning, plotting, and working, as if to rob men of their highest good—require the most vigilant attention, and the best efforts of intelligent, well-directed Christian purpose, to counteract them. A public writer tells us:—

We live in an age scarcely less remarkable for progress in the physical sciences, than for the too general decay of faith and of hope. The conventional forms of religion continue, it is true, to be held in outward respect; but the spirit of them is, in a great degree, gone. They even spread from day to day, but in the same manner as taste spreads for the architecture of the middle ages, and for old pieces of furniture in fashionable drawing-rooms. There is evidence of a growing disposition among all classes to regard what are called the proprieties of life, or the habits of decent society; but not of growing belief. The stern Protestant spirit of the Reformation, and the Nonconformist earnestness which succeeded, have given place to the hollow maxims of expediency. This is, perhaps, a melancholy characteristic of the present age, which is too largely an age of transition, indifferentism, or scepticism, on the highest subjects of contemplation.

The only sufficient remedy for this spirit, and the dangers to which it leads, will be found in awakened attention to united prayer for power from on high, deep-thoughted love, and practical deference to the most holy Word of God—an intelligent and devout Christian ministry, in character like that which, through God, threw down strongholds, laid imaginations, and high things which exalted themselves against God, and his Holy truth, low, and in the dust—the power of Heaven’s own immortal Truth, which neither neglects the right use of reason, nor is subject to what is sometimes termed reason.

The following is the last reference of Dr. Calamy to John Westley, of Whitchurch and Preston;—to his death and the place of his repose:—

He was taken out of this vale of tears when he had not been much

(a) Clarendon, vol. i., p. 184, &c.; Neal, vol. ii., pp. 2—5; Cromwell’s Letters, vol. i., pp. 7, 63; Westminster Review; Edinburgh Review, No. 209, pp. 11, 12.

longer an inhabitant here below than his blessed Master, whom he served with his whole heart, according to the best of his light. They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever, though not only their persons while they are living, but also their bodies when they are dead, may here meet with contempt, which this good man's did, whom the vicar of Preston would not suffer to be buried in the church.

To the writer of these few pages, the village of Preston and its neighbourhood are well known; and seldom, when called by duty to visit it, has he gone thither without thought on the deeply injured Vicar of Whitechurch, and his days; nor without feeling the force and beauty of the following lines:—

Servant of God, well done! well hast thou fought
The better fight!
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach; far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care,
To stand approv'd in sight of God, though men
Judg'd thee perverse.

John Westley, whether regarded as a son, a worthy, studious, and exemplary young man—the college friend of men whose piety and worth have commanded the respect of the Christian world—as the husband, parent, and Christian minister, who, in the spirit of his blessed Lord, suffered

The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,

Is among those whose memory, “neither God, nor good men, will allow to perish.”

In this and that house at Preston, silent dell, and secluded nook below the village, between the adjoining broken cliffs and rocks, or on the solitary chalk-hill wilds above, the writer has appeared to see, in his loneliness or wanderings, the man whose spirit was crushed by the rampant rage of persecution—the Christian unrighteously hunted to obscurity—the minister whose lamp, though lighted in the skies, was quenched at the mere will and high bearing of ungodly men. Nor is he a stranger to the silent and hallowed churchyard, where, for the weary and worn-out exile, a grave was found; but no storied urn, animated bust, nor even humble memorial-stone, can lead the inquirer to his grassy bed.

Mr. Westley has long been at rest; no longer does he hear the voice of the slanderer, nor feel the rod of the oppressor. His piety and worth, as reported by the fragments which have

come down to us, should live while any remnants of Christianity continue in the land. In heaven, in that state of rest, where the wicked cease from troubling, and they who came up out of great tribulation, are before the throne, he hath found his reward. Small and feeble is the tribute which the writer can render to the memory of the youthful Christian; the useful minister; the vicar torn from his weeping flock; the husband and father driven from his beloved family, and immured in gaols; the man who by sorrow, was early brought to death, to leave a widow and babes poor and desolate (his aged father, in sorrow, brought soon after to the grave with him). To the man to whom the space of a few poor feet of earth was denied in the Church—as if *his* remains would desecrate the sacred place; to the memory of this too long forgotten, deeply injured, illustrious Christian sufferer, the writer willingly offers the small—the best—tribute that he can present.

“THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL BE IN EVERLASTING REMEMBRANCE.”

THE END.

